

**BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION**

In the Matter of )  
)  
Commission on Presidential Debates, )  
Frank Fahrenkopf, Jr., Michael D. McCurry, )  
Howard G. Buffett, John C. Danforth, )  
John Griffen, Antonia Hernandez, )  
John I. Jenkins, Newton N. Minow, )  
Richard D. Parsons, Dorothy Ridings, )  
Alan K. Simpson, and Janet Brown )

**EXHIBITS TO COMPLAINT: VOLUME II**

**EXHIBITS 56 - 101**

SHAPIRO, ARATO & ISSERLES LLP  
500 Fifth Avenue  
40th Floor  
New York, New York 10110  
Phone: (212) 257-4880  
Fax: (212) 202-6417

*Attorneys for Complainants Level the  
Playing Field and Peter Ackerman*

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# Exhibit 56

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## CPD Elects Six New Directors

Apr 16, 2014

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Frank J. Fahrenkopf, Jr. and Michael D. McCurry, co-chairs of the Commission on Presidential Debates (CPD), today announced six new members elected to the CPD's board of directors. They are:

- **Mitchell E. Daniels, Jr.**, *President, Purdue University*
- **Charles Gibson**, *Former Anchor, ABC World News with Charles Gibson*
- **Jane Harman**, *Director, President and CEO, Woodrow Wilson Center for International Scholars*
- **Leon E. Panetta**, *Chairman, Panetta Institute for Public Policy*
- **Olympia Jean Snowe**, *Former U.S. Senator*
- **Dr. Shirley M. Tilghman**, *Former President, Princeton University*

Fahrenkopf and McCurry noted that "Presidential debates reach more viewers and listeners than any other political programming. They educate voters and motivate citizens to learn about the candidates and the issues. The CPD is dedicated to developing formats that will allow these exchanges to best serve the public, and we are grateful to engage our six new directors in planning for 2016. Their individual and collective experience in public service, media and education is extensive and respected. We are honored to have them join the CPD."

In addition to the co-chairs, the current CPD directors are Howard G. Buffett, John C. Danforth, John Griffen, Antonia Hernandez, Reverend John I. Jenkins, Newton N. Minow, Richard D. Parsons, Dorothy Ridings, and Alan K. Simpson.

The co-chairs also noted that the new directors would be involved in the CPD's international work. U.S. debates are watched in real time by world-wide audiences. Groups in other countries, particularly emerging democracies, that seek to start their own debates contact the CPD for assistance on issues ranging from candidate negotiation to format and production. For more than twenty years, the CPD has worked with the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) to help these groups initiate or improve debates in their countries. In connection with these collaborative efforts, NDI has launched [www.debatesinternational.org](http://www.debatesinternational.org), a website intended to serve as a resource for groups in other countries. An informal association of those groups, Debates International, has contributed much of the material on the new website.

The CPD is underway with planning for the 2016 debates, and will announce site selection guidelines in early January, 2015.

[Return](#)

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1-800-424-6801

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# Exhibit 57

Return of Organization Exempt From Income Tax

Under section 501(c) of the Internal Revenue Code (except black lung benefit trust or private foundation) or section 4947(a)(1) nonexempt charitable trust

1997

This Form is Open to Public Inspection

Department of the Treasury Internal Revenue Service

Note: The organization may have to use a copy of this return to satisfy state reporting requirements.

A For the 1997 calendar year, OR tax year period beginning 1997, and ending 19

B Check if: Change of address, Initial return, Final return, Amended return. C Please use IRS label or print or type. See Specific Instructions. COMMISSION ON PRESIDENTIAL DEBATES 1200 NEW HAMPSHIRE AVENUE, NW #445 WASHINGTON, DC 20036-6802. D Employer identification number 52-1500977. E State registration number. F Check If exemption application is pending.

G Type of organization Exempt under section 501(c)(3) (insert number) OR section 4947(a)(1) nonexempt charitable trust. Note: Section 501(c)(3) exempt organizations and 4947(a)(1) nonexempt charitable trusts MUST attach a completed Schedule A (Form 990).

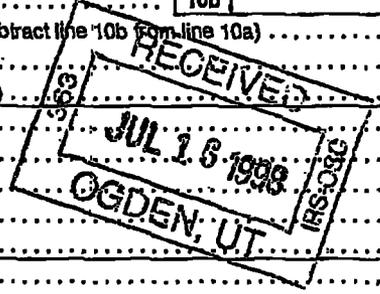
H(a) Is this a group return filed for affiliates? Yes No. (b) If "Yes," enter the number of affiliates for which this return is filed. (c) Is this a separate return filed by an organization covered by a group ruling? Yes No. I If either box in H is checked "Yes," enter four-digit group exemption number (GEN). J Accounting method: Cash Accrual Other (specify).

K Check here If the organization's gross receipts are normally not more than \$25,000. The organization need not file a return with the IRS; but if it received a Form 990 Package in the mail, it should file a return without financial data. Some states require a complete return.

Note: Form 990-EZ may be used by organizations with gross receipts less than \$100,000 and total assets less than \$250,000 at end of year.

Part Revenue, Expenses, and Changes in Net Assets or Fund Balances (See Specific Instructions on page 11.)

Table with 21 rows and 4 columns. Rows include: 1 Contributions, gifts, grants, and similar amounts received; 2 Program service revenue including government fees and contracts; 3 Membership dues and assessments; 4 Interest on savings and temporary cash investments; 5 Dividends and interest from securities; 6a Gross rents; 6b Less: rental expenses; 6c Net rental income or (loss); 7 Other investment income; 8a Gross amount from sale of assets other than inventory; 8b Less: cost or other basis and sales expenses; 8c Gain or (loss); 8d Net gain or (loss); 9 Special events and activities; 9a Gross revenue; 9b Less: direct expenses other than fundraising expenses; 9c Net income or (loss) from special events; 10a Gross sales of inventory, less returns and allowances; 10b Less: cost of goods sold; 10c Gross profit or (loss) from sales of inventory; 11 Other revenue; 12 Total revenue; 13 Program services; 14 Management and general; 15 Fundraising; 16 Payments to affiliates; 17 Total expenses; 18 Excess or (deficit) for the year; 19 Net assets or fund balances at beginning of year; 20 Other changes in net assets or fund balances; 21 Net assets or fund balances at end of year.



STATEMENT 4  
FORM 990, PART IV, LINE 57  
LAND, BUILDINGS, AND EQUIPMENT

ASSET	BASIS	ACCUMULATED DEPRECIATION	BOOK VALUE
FURNITURE AND FIXTURES	\$ 1,638	1,638	0
MACHINERY AND EQUIPMENT	19,163	17,899	1,264
MISCELLANEOUS	1,867	1,867	0
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$ 22,668</b>	<b>21,404</b>	<b>1,264</b>

STATEMENT 5  
FORM 990, PART IV, LINE 58  
OTHER ASSETS

	ENDING
ROUNDING .....	\$ 1
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$ 1</b>

STATEMENT 6  
FORM 990, PART V  
LIST OF OFFICERS, DIRECTORS, TRUSTEES, AND KEY EMPLOYEES

NAME AND ADDRESS	TITLE & AVG. HRS/WK DEVOTED	COMP.	EMPLOYEE BEN. CONTRIB.	EXPENSE PLN ACCOUNT/ OTHER
FRANK J. FAHRENKOPF, JR. 555 13TH ST., NW #1010E WASHINGTON, DC 20004	CO-CHAIRMAN NONE	0	0	0
PAUL G. KIRK, JR. ONE POST OFFICE SQ. BOSTON, MA 02109	CO-CHAIRMAN NONE	0	0	0
NEWTON N. MINOW ONE FIRST NATL. PLAZA CHICAGO, IL 60603	VICE-CHAIRMAN NONE	0	0	0

## COMMISSION ON PRESIDENTIAL DEBATES

52-15C0977

STATEMENT 6 (CONTINUED)  
 FORM 990, PART V  
 LIST OF OFFICERS, DIRECTORS, TRUSTEES, AND KEY EMPLOYEES

NAME AND ADDRESS	TITLE & AVG. HRS/WK DEVOTED	COMP.	EMPLOYEE BEN. CONTRIB.	EXPENSE PLN ACCOUNT/ OTHER
SEN. JOHN C. DANFORTH RUSSELL SENATE OFFICE BLDG. WASHINGTON, DC 20510	DIRECTOR NONE	0	0	0
ANTONIA HERNANDEZ 634 SOUTH SPRING ST. LOS ANGELES, CA 90014	DIRECTOR NONE	0	0	0
CAROLINE KENNEDY 888 PARK AVE. NEW YORK, NY 10021	DIRECTOR NONE	0	0	0
JANET H. BROWN 1200 NEW HAMPSHIRE AVE., NW WASHINGTON, DC 20005	EXEC. DIRECTOR 40	120,000	0	0
SEN. PAUL COVERDELL RUSSELL SENATE OFFICE BLDG. WASHINGTON, DC 20510	DIRECTOR NONE	0	0	0
REP. JENNIFER DUNN 432 CANNON HOUSE OFFICE BLDG. WASHINGTON, DC 20510	DIRECTOR NONE	0	0	0
HOWARD G. BUFFET 1004 E. ILLINOIS ST. ASSUMPTION, IL 62510	DIRECTOR NONE	0	0	0
DOROTHY RIDINGS 1828 L STREET, NW WASHINGTON, DC 20036	DIRECTOR NONE	0	0	0
CLIFFORD L. ALEXANDER, JR. 400 C ST., NE WASHINGTON, DC 20002	DIRECTOR NONE	0	0	0
	TOTAL	\$ 120,000	0	0

Return of Organization Exempt From Income Tax

1998

Under section 501(c) of the Internal Revenue Code (except black lung benefit trust or private foundation) or section 4947(a)(1) nonexempt charitable trust

Department of the Treasury Internal Revenue Service

Note: The organization may have to use a copy of this return to satisfy state reporting requirements.

This Form is Open to Public Inspection

A For the 1998 calendar year, OR tax year period beginning 1998, and ending 19

B Check if: Change of address, Initial return, Final return, Amended return. C COMMISSION ON PRESIDENTIAL DEBATES, 1200 NEW HAMPSHIRE AVENUE, NW #445, WASHINGTON, DC 20036-6802. D Employer identification number 52-1500977. E Telephone number 202-872-1020. F Check if exemption application is pending.

G Type of organization: Exempt under section 501(c) (3) (insert number) OR section 4947(a)(1) nonexempt charitable trust. Note: Section 501(c)(3) exempt organizations and 4947(a)(1) nonexempt charitable trusts MUST attach a completed Schedule A (Form 990).

H(a) Is this a group return filed for affiliates? Yes No. (b) If "Yes," enter the number of affiliates for which this return is filed. (c) Is this a separate return filed by an organization covered by a group ruling? Yes No. I If either box in H is checked "Yes," enter four-digit group exemption number (GEN). J Accounting method: Cash Accrual Other (specify).

K Check here if the organization's gross receipts are normally not more than \$25,000. The organization need not file a return with the IRS; but if it received a Form 990 Package in the mail, it should file a return without financial data. Some states require a complete return.

Note: Form 990-EZ may be used by organizations with gross receipts less than \$100,000 and total assets less than \$250,000 at end of year.

Part Revenue, Expenses, and Changes in Net Assets or Fund Balances (See Specific Instructions on page 13.)

Table with 21 rows and multiple columns. Row 1: Contributions, gifts, grants, and similar amounts received. Row 2: Program service revenue including government fees and contracts. Row 3: Membership dues and assessments. Row 4: Interest on savings and temporary cash investments. Row 5: Dividends and interest from securities. Row 6: Gross rents. Row 7: Other investment income. Row 8: Gross amount from sale of assets other than inventory. Row 9: Special events and activities. Row 10: Gross sales of inventory, less returns and allowances. Row 11: Other revenue. Row 12: Total revenue. Row 13: Program services. Row 14: Management and general. Row 15: Fundraising. Row 16: Payments to affiliates. Row 17: Total expenses. Row 18: Excess or (deficit) for the year. Row 19: Net assets or fund balances at beginning of year. Row 20: Other changes in net assets or fund balances. Row 21: Net assets or fund balances at end of year.

SCANNED APR 17 2000

RECEIVED APR 17 2000

STATEMENT 4  
FORM 990, PART IV, LINE 57  
LAND, BUILDINGS, AND EQUIPMENT

ASSET	BASIS	ACCUMULATED DEPRECIATION	BOOK VALUE
FURNITURE AND FIXTURES	\$ 1,638	1,638	0
MACHINERY AND EQUIPMENT	14,609	11,769	2,840
MISCELLANEOUS	1,867	1,867	0
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$ 18,114</b>	<b>15,274</b>	<b>2,840</b>

STATEMENT 5  
FORM 990, PART IV-A, LINE B(4)  
OTHER AMOUNTS

1997 REVENUES- 2 YEAR AUDIT IS PREPARED	\$ 167,316
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$ 167,316</b>

STATEMENT 6  
FORM 990, PART IV-B, LINE B(4)  
OTHER AMOUNTS

1997 EXPENSES-2 YEAR AUDIT IS PREPARED	\$ 247,449
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$ 247,449</b>

STATEMENT 7  
FORM 990, PART V  
LIST OF OFFICERS, DIRECTORS, TRUSTEES, AND KEY EMPLOYEES

NAME AND ADDRESS	TITLE & AVG. HRS/WK DEVOTED	EMPLOYEE COMP.	EXPENSE BEN. CONTRIB.	PLN ACCOUNT/ OTHER
FRANK J. FAHRENKOPF, JR. 555 13TH ST., NW #1010E WASHINGTON, DC 20004	CO-CHAIRMAN NONE	0	0	0
PAUL G. KIRK, JR. ONE POST OFFICE SQ. BOSTON, MA 02109	CO-CHAIRMAN NONE	0	0	0

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## COMMISSION ON PRESIDENTIAL DEBATES

52-1500977

STATEMENT 7 (CONTINUED)  
 FORM 990, PART V  
 LIST OF OFFICERS, DIRECTORS, TRUSTEES, AND KEY EMPLOYEES

NAME AND ADDRESS	TITLE & AVG. HRS/WK DEVOTED	COMP.	EMPLOYEE BEN. CONTRIB.	EXPENSE PLN ACCOUNT/ OTHER	
NEWTON N. MINOW ONE FIRST NATL. PLAZA CHICAGO, IL 60603	VICE-CHAIRMAN NONE	0	0	0	
JACK DANFORTH 211 N. BROADWAY ST. LOUIS, MO 63102	DIRECTOR NONE	0	0	0	
ANTONIA HERNANDEZ 634 SOUTH SPRING ST. LOS ANGELES, CA 90014	DIRECTOR NONE	0	0	0	
CAROLINE KENNEDY 888 PARK AVE. NEW YORK, NY 10021	DIRECTOR NONE	0	0	0	
JANET H. BROWN 1200 NEW HAMPSHIRE AVE., NW WASHINGTON, DC 20005	EXEC. DIRECTOR NONE	0	0	0	
SEN. PAUL COVERDELL RUSSELL SENATE OFFICE BLDG. WASHINGTON, DC 20510	DIRECTOR NONE	0	0	0	
REP. JENNIFER DUNN CANNON HOUSE OFFICE BLDG. WASHINGTON, DC 20515	DIRECTOR NONE	0	0	0	
HOWARD G. BUFFET 1004 E. ILLINOIS ST. ASSUMPTION, IL 62510	DIRECTOR NONE	0	0	0	
DOROTHY RIDINGS 1828 L STREET, NW WASHINGTON, DC 20036	DIRECTOR NONE	0	0	0	
CLIFFORD L. ALEXANDER, JR. 400 C ST., NE WASHINGTON, DC 20002	DIRECTOR NONE	0	0	0	
	TOTAL	\$	0	0	0

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Return of Organization Exempt From Income Tax

1999

Under section 501(c) of the Internal Revenue Code (except black lung benefit trust or private foundation) or section 4947(a)(1) nonexempt charitable trust

Department of the Treasury, Internal Revenue Service

Note: The organization may have to use a copy of this return to satisfy state reporting requirements.

This Form is Open to Public Inspection

A For the 1999 calendar year, OR tax year period beginning 1999, and ending

- B Check if: Change of address, Initial return, Final return, Amended return (required also for State reporting)

Please use IRS label or print or type. See Specific Instructions.

COMMISSION ON PRESIDENTIAL DEBATES 1200 NEW HAMPSHIRE AVENUE, NW #445 WASHINGTON, DC 20036-6802

D Employer identification number 52-1500977 E Telephone number 202-872-1020 F Check if exemption application is pending

G Type of organization: Exempt under section 501(c)(3) (insert number) OR section 4947(a)(1) nonexempt charitable trust. Note: Section 501(c)(3) exempt organizations and 4947(a)(1) nonexempt charitable trusts MUST attach a completed Schedule A (Form 990).

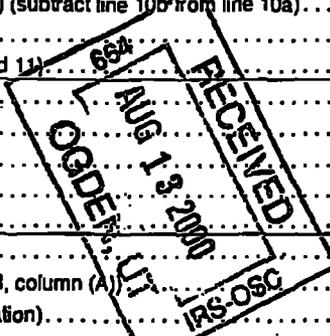
H(a) Is this a group return filed for affiliates? Yes No (b) If "Yes," enter the number of affiliates for which this return is filed: (c) Is this a separate return filed by an organization covered by a group ruling? Yes No J Accounting method: Cash Accrual Other (specify)

K Check here if the organization's gross receipts are normally not more than \$25,000. The organization need not file a return with the IRS; but if it received a Form 990 Package in the mail, it should file a return without financial data. Some states require a complete return.

Note: Form 990-EZ may be used by organizations with gross receipts less than \$100,000 and total assets less than \$250,000 at end of year.

Part Revenue, Expenses, and Changes in Net Assets or Fund Balances (See Specific Instructions page 15.)

Table with 21 rows and 4 columns: Description, (A) Securities, (B) Other, and Total. Includes sections for Contributions, Program Service Revenue, Rental Income, Investment Income, and Special Events. Total revenue is 88,083 and total expenses are 169,441, resulting in a deficit of 81,358.



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## COMMISSION ON PRESIDENTIAL DEBATES

52-15C0977

STATEMENT 5  
FORM 990, PART V  
LIST OF OFFICERS, DIRECTORS, TRUSTEES, AND KEY EMPLOYEES

NAME AND ADDRESS	TITLE & AVG. HRS/WK DEVOTED	COMP.	EMPLOYEE BEN. PLN CONTRIB.	EXPENSE ACCOUNT/ OTHER
FRANK J. FAHRENKOPF, JR. 555 13TH ST., NW #1010E WASHINGTON, DC 20004	CO-CHAIRMAN NONE	\$ 0	0	0
PAUL G. KIRK, JR. ONE POST OFFICE SQ. BOSTON, MA 02109	CO-CHAIRMAN NONE	0	0	0
NEWTON N. MINOW ONE FIRST NATL. PLAZA CHICAGO, IL 60603	VICE-CHAIRMAN NONE	0	0	0
JACK DANFORTH 211 N. BROADWAY ST. LOUIS, MO 63102	DIRECTOR NONE	0	0	0
ANTONIA HERNANDEZ 634 SOUTH SPRING ST. LOS ANGELES, CA 90014	DIRECTOR NONE	0	0	0
CAROLINE KENNEDY 888 PARK AVE. NEW YORK, NY 10021	DIRECTOR NONE	0	0	0
JANET H. BROWN 1200 NEW HAMPSHIRE AVE., NW WASHINGTON, DC 20005	EXEC. DIRECTOR NONE	0	0	0
REP. JENNIFER DUNN CANNON HOUSE OFFICE BLDG. WASHINGTON, DC 20515	DIRECTOR NONE	0	0	0
HOWARD G. BUFFET 1004 E. ILLINOIS ST. ASSUMPTION, IL 62510	DIRECTOR NONE	0	0	0
DOROTHY RIDINGS 1828 L STREET, NW WASHINGTON, DC 20036	DIRECTOR NONE	0	0	0

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STATEMENT 5 (CONTINUED)  
FORM 990, PART V  
LIST OF OFFICERS, DIRECTORS, TRUSTEES, AND KEY EMPLOYEES

NAME AND ADDRESS	TITLE & AVG. HRS/WK DEVOTED	COMP.	EMPLOYEE BEN. PLN CONTRIB.	EXPENSE ACCOUNT/ OTHER
CLIFFORD L. ALEXANDER, JR. 400 C ST., NE WASHINGTON, DC 20002	DIRECTOR NONE	0	0	0
PAUL H. O'NEILL 201 ISABELLA ST. PITTSBURGH, PA 15212	DIRECTOR NONE	0	0	0
TOTAL		\$ 0	0	0

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Return of Organization Exempt From Income Tax

2000

Under section 501(c) of the Internal Revenue Code (except black lung benefit trust or private foundation), section 527 or section 4947(a)(1) nonexempt charitable trust

Open to Public Inspection

Department of the Treasury Internal Revenue Service

The organization may have to use a copy of this return to satisfy state reporting requirements.

A For the 2000 calendar year, or tax year period beginning 2000, and ending 20

- B Check if applicable: Change of address, Change of name, Initial return, Final return, Amended return

Please use IRS label or print or type. See Specific Instructions.

COMMISSION ON PRESIDENTIAL DEBATES 1200 NEW HAMPSHIRE AVENUE, NW #445 WASHINGTON, DC 20036-6802

D Employer identification number 52-1500977 E Telephone number 202-872-1020 F Check if application pending

G Organization type (check only one) 501(c)(3) Section 501(c)(3) organizations and 4947(a)(1) nonexempt charitable trusts must attach a completed Schedule A (Form 990 or 990-EZ).

Note: H and I are not applicable to section 527 orgs. H(a) Is this a group return filed for affiliates? H(b) If "Yes," enter number of affiliates H(c) Are all affiliates included? H(d) Is this a separate return filed by an organization covered by a group ruling? I Enter 4-digit group exemption no. (GEN) L Check this box if the organization is not required to attach Schedule B (Form 990 or 990-EZ)

J Accounting method: Cash Accrual Other (specify) K Check here if the organization's gross receipts are normally not more than \$25,000. The organization need not file a return with the IRS; but if the organization received a Form 990 Package in the mail, it should file a return without financial data. Some states require a complete return.

Part I Revenue, Expenses, and Changes in Net Assets or Fund Balances (See Specific Instructions on page 16.)

Table with 21 rows and multiple columns for revenue, expenses, and net assets. Includes sub-rows for securities and other assets. Total revenue is 5,090,009 and net assets at end of year is 1,108,996.

FILMED DEC 07 2001

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## COMMISSION ON PRESIDENTIAL DEBATES

52-1500977

STATEMENT 6 (CONTINUED)  
 FORM 990, PART V  
 LIST OF OFFICERS, DIRECTORS, TRUSTEES, AND KEY EMPLOYEES

NAME AND ADDRESS	TITLE & AVG. HRS/WK DEVOTED	COMP.	EMPLOYEE BEN. PLN CONTRIB.	EXPENSE ACCOUNT/ OTHER
PAUL G. KIRK, JR. 62 SAWMILL RD MARSTON-MILLS, MA 02648	CO-CHAIRMAN NONE	\$ 0	0	0
NEWTON N. MINOW BANK ONE PLAZA, #4800 CHICAGO, IL 60603	VICE-CHAIRMAN NONE	0	0	0
JOHN C. DANFORTH 211 N. BROADWAY #3600 ST. LOUIS, MO 63102	DIRECTOR NONE	0	0	0
ANTONIA HERNANDEZ 634 SOUTH SPRING ST. LOS ANGELES, CA 90014	DIRECTOR NONE	0	0	0
CAROLINE KENNEDY 888 PARK AVE. NEW YORK, NY 10021	DIRECTOR NONE	0	0	0
JANET H. BROWN 1200 NEW HAMPSHIRE AVE., NW WASHINGTON, DC 20005	EXEC. DIRECTOR 40+	450,000	0	0
REP. JENNIFER DUNN 1501 LONGWORTH HOUSE OFF BLDG WASHINGTON, DC 20515	DIRECTOR NONE	0	0	0
HOWARD G. BUFFET 1004 E. ILLINOIS ST. ASSUMPTION, IL 62510	DIRECTOR NONE	0	0	0
DOROTHY RIDINGS 1828 L STREET, NW WASHINGTON, DC 20036	DIRECTOR NONE	0	0	0
CLIFFORD L. ALEXANDER, JR. 400 C ST., NE WASHINGTON, DC 20002	DIRECTOR NONE	0	0	0
SEN. ALAN K. SIMPSON 1201 SUNSHINE AVE CODY, WY 82414	DIRECTOR NONE	0	0	0
TOTAL		\$ 450,000	0	0

11-004-VIN-0001

Return of Organization Exempt from Income Tax

2001

Under Section 501(c), 527, or 4947(a)(1) of the Internal Revenue Code (except black lung benefit trust or private foundation)

Open to Public Inspection

Department of the Treasury Internal Revenue Service

The organization may have to use a copy of this return to satisfy state reporting requirements

A For the 2001 calendar year, or tax year beginning 2001, and ending 20

- B Check if applicable: Address change, Name change, Initial return, Final return, Amended return, Application pending

Please use IRS label or print or type See specific instructions.

COMMISSION ON PRESIDENTIAL DEBATES 1200 NEW HAMPSHIRE AVENUE, NW #445 WASHINGTON, DC 20036-6802

D Employer Identification Number 52-1500977
E Telephone number 202-872-1020
F Accounting method: Cash, Accrual, Other (specify)

Section 501(c)(3) organizations and 4947(a)(1) nonexempt charitable trusts must attach a completed Schedule A (Form 990 or 990-EZ).

H and I are not applicable to Section 527 organizations

- H (a) Is this a group return for affiliates? Yes No
H (b) If yes enter number of affiliates
H (c) Are all affiliates included? Yes No
H (d) Is this a separate return filed by an organization covered by a group ruling? Yes No

G Web site N/A

J Organization type (check only one): 501(c) 3 (insert no), 4947(a)(1), 527

K Check here if the organization's gross receipts are normally not more than \$25,000. The organization need not file a return with the IRS, but if the organization received a Form 990 Package in the mail, it should file a return without financial data. Some states require a complete return.

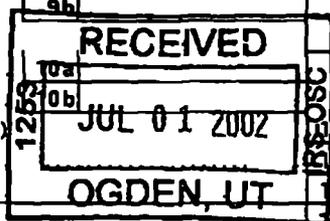
I Enter 4 digit group GEN

M Check if the organization is not required to attach Schedule B (Form 990, 990-EZ, or 990-PF)

L Gross receipts Add lines 6b, 8b, 9b, and 10b to line 12 94,009

Part I Revenue, Expenses, and Changes in Net Assets or Fund Balances (see instructions)

Table with 21 rows and 4 columns: Description, (A) Securities, (B) Other, Amount. Includes rows for Contributions, Program service revenue, Membership dues, Interest on savings, Dividends, Gross rents, Net rental income, Other investment income, Gross amount from sales of assets, Special events, Gross sales of inventory, Other revenue, Total revenue, Program services, Management and general, Fundraising, Payments to affiliates, Total expenses, Excess or deficit, Net assets at beginning/end of year.



11-004-1000-0001

RECEIVED

SCANNED AUG 19 2002

## COMMISSION ON PRESIDENTIAL DEBATES

52-1500977

**STATEMENT 4  
FORM 990, PART IV, LINE 65  
OTHER LIABILITIES**

 PAYROLL TAX LIABILITIES  
 ROUNDING

	\$	5,070
		<u>2</u>
TOTAL	\$	<u><u>5,072</u></u>

**STATEMENT 5  
FORM 990, PART V  
LIST OF OFFICERS, DIRECTORS, TRUSTEES, AND KEY EMPLOYEES**

NAME AND ADDRESS	TITLE AND AVERAGE HOURS PER WEEK DEVOTED	COMPEN- SATION	CONTRI- BUTION TO EBP & DC	EXPENSE ACCOUNT/ OTHER
FRANK J FAHRENKOPF, JR 555 13TH ST, NW #1010E WASHINGTON, DC 20004	CO-CHAIRMAN NONE	\$ 0	\$ 0	\$ 0
PAUL G KIRK, JR 62 SAWMILL RD MARSTON-MILLS, MA 02648	CO-CHAIRMAN NONE	0	0	0
NEWTON N MINOW BANK ONE PLAZA, #4800 CHICAGO, IL 60603	VICE-CHAIRMAN NONE	0	0	0
JOHN C DANFORTH 211 N BROADWAY #3600 ST LOUIS, MO 63102	DIRECTOR NONE	0	0	0
ANTONIA HERNANDEZ 634 SOUTH SPRING ST LOS ANGELES, CA 90014	DIRECTOR NONE	0	0	0
CAROLINE KENNEDY 888 PARK AVE NEW YORK, NY 10021	DIRECTOR NONE	0	0	0
JANET H BROWN 1200 NEW HAMPSHIRE AVE, NW WASHINGTON, DC 20005	EXEC DIRECTOR 40+	150,000	0	0
REP JENNIFER DUNN 1501 LONGWORTH HOUSE OFF BLDG WASHINGTON, DC 20515	DIRECTOR NONE	0	0	0
HOWARD G BUFFET 1004 E ILLINOIS ST ASSUMPTION, IL 62510	DIRECTOR NONE	0	0	0
DOROTHY RIDINGS 1828 L STREET, NW WASHINGTON, DC 20036	DIRECTOR NONE	0	0	0

STATEMENT 5 (CONTINUED)  
 FORM 990, PART V  
 LIST OF OFFICERS, DIRECTORS, TRUSTEES, AND KEY EMPLOYEES

NAME AND ADDRESS	TITLE AND AVERAGE HOURS PER WEEK DEVOTED	COMPEN- SATION	CONTRI- BUTION TO EBP & DC	EXPENSE ACCOUNT/ OTHER
CLIFFORD L ALEXANDER, JR 400 C ST, NE WASHINGTON, DC 20002	DIRECTOR NONE	\$ 0	\$ 0	\$ 0
SEN ALAN K SIMPSON 1201 SUNSHINE AVE CODY, WY 82414	DIRECTOR NONE	0	0	0
TOTAL		<u>\$ 150,000</u>	<u>\$ 0</u>	<u>\$ 0</u>

STATEMENT 6  
 SCHEDULE A, PART IV-A, LINE 22  
 OTHER INCOME

DESCRIPTION	(A) 2000	(B) 1999	(C) 1998	(D) 1997	(E) TOTAL
EXPENSE REIMBURSEMENT	\$ 10,000	\$ 0	\$ 0	\$ 0	\$ 10,000
TOTAL	<u>\$ 10,000</u>	<u>\$ 0</u>	<u>\$ 0</u>	<u>\$ 0</u>	<u>\$ 10,000</u>

11/03/2001 4:00:10

Return of Organization Exempt from Income Tax

2002

Under section 501(c), 527, or 4947(a)(1) of the Internal Revenue Code (except black lung benefit trust or private foundation)

Open to Public Inspection

Department of the Treasury Internal Revenue Service

The organization may have to use a copy of this return to satisfy state reporting requirements

A For the 2002 calendar year, or tax year beginning 2002, and ending

- B Check if applicable: Address change, Name change, Initial return, Final return, Amended return, Application pending

Please use IRS label or print or type See specific instructions

COMMISSION ON PRESIDENTIAL DEBATES 1200 NEW HAMPSHIRE AVENUE, NW #445 WASHINGTON, DC 20036-6802

D Employer identification number

52-1500977

E Telephone number

202-872-1020

F Accounting method

Cash

Other (specify)

X Accrual

Section 501(c)(3) organizations and 4947(a)(1) nonexempt charitable trusts must attach a completed Schedule A (Form 990 or 990-EZ)

H and I are not applicable to section 527 organizations

H (a) Is this a group return for affiliates? Yes No X

H (b) If Yes enter number of affiliates

H (c) Are all affiliates included? Yes No

(If No attach a list See instructions)

H (d) Is this a separate return filed by an organization covered by a group ruling? Yes No X

G Web site: N/A

J Organization type (check only one) X 501(c) 3 (insert no) 4947(a)(1) or 527

K Check here if the organization's gross receipts are normally not more than \$25,000 The organization need not file a return with the IRS, but if the organization received a Form 990 Package in the mail, it should file a return without financial data Some states require a complete return

I Enter 4 digit GEN

M Check if the organization is not required to attach Schedule B (Form 990, 990-EZ, or 990-PF)

L Gross receipts Add lines 6b, 8b, 9b, and 10b to line 12 25,777

Part I Revenue, Expenses, and Changes in Net Assets or Fund Balances (See Instructions)

Table with 21 rows and columns for revenue, expenses, and net assets. Includes a 'RECEIVED' stamp dated NOV 21 2003 from OGDEN, UT.

SCANNED DEC 16 2003

14

## COMMISSION ON PRESIDENTIAL DEBATES

52-1500977

STATEMENT 5  
FORM 990, PART V  
LIST OF OFFICERS, DIRECTORS, TRUSTEES, AND KEY EMPLOYEES

NAME AND ADDRESS	TITLE AND AVERAGE HOURS PER WEEK DEVOTED	COMPEN- SATION	CONTRI- BUTION TO EBP & DC	EXPENSE ACCOUNT/ OTHER
FRANK J FAHRENKOPF, JR 555 13TH ST , NW #1010E WASHINGTON, DC 20004	CO-CHAIRMAN NONE	\$ 0	\$ 0	\$ 0
PAUL G KIRK, JR 62 SAWMILL RD MARSTON-MILLS, MA 02648	CO-CHAIRMAN NONE	0	0	0
NEWTON N MINOW BANK ONE PLAZA, #4800 CHICAGO, IL 60603	VICE-CHAIRMAN NONE	0	0	0
JOHN C DANFORTH 211 N BROADWAY #3600 ST LOUIS, MO 63102	VICE-CHAIRMAN NONE	0	0	0
ANTONIA HERNANDEZ 634 SOUTH SPRING ST LOS ANGELES, CA 90014	SECRETARY NONE	0	0	0
CAROLINE KENNEDY 888 PARK AVE NEW YORK, NY 10021	DIRECTOR NONE	0	0	0
JANET H BROWN 1200 NEW HAMPSHIRE AVE , NW WASHINGTON, DC 20005	EXEC DIRECTOR 40+	150,000	0	0
REP JENNIFER DUNN 1501 LONGWORTH HOUSE OFF BLDG WASHINGTON, DC 20515	DIRECTOR NONE	0	0	0
HOWARD G BUFFET 1004 E ILLINOIS ST ASSUMPTION, IL 62510	TREASURER NONE	0	0	0
DOROTHY RIDINGS 1828 L STREET, NW WASHINGTON, DC 20036	DIRECTOR NONE	0	0	0
SEN ALAN K SIMPSON 1201 SUNSHINE AVE CODY, WY 82414	DIRECTOR NONE	0	0	0
TOTAL		\$ 150,000	\$ 0	\$ 0

1500977-4001-00

Return of Organization Exempt from Income Tax

2003

Under section 501(c), 527, or 4947(a)(1) of the Internal Revenue Code (except black lung benefit trust or private foundation)

Open to Public Inspection

Department of the Treasury Internal Revenue Service

The organization may have to use a copy of this return to satisfy state reporting requirements

A For the 2003 calendar year, or tax year beginning, 2003, and ending

- B Check if applicable: Address change, Name change, Initial return, Final return, Amended return, Application pending

Please use IRS label or print or type. See specific instructions.

COMMISSION ON PRESIDENTIAL DEBATES 1200 NEW HAMPSHIRE AVENUE, NW #445 WASHINGTON, DC 20036-6802

D Employer Identification Number

52-1500977

E Telephone number

202-872-1020

F Accounting method:

Cash

Accrual

Other (specify)

Section 501(c)(3) organizations and 4947(a)(1) nonexempt charitable trusts must attach a completed Schedule A (Form 990 or 990-EZ).

H and I are not applicable to section 527 organizations

H (a) Is this a group return for affiliates? Yes No

H (b) If 'Yes,' enter number of affiliates

H (c) Are all affiliates included? Yes No

(If 'No,' attach a list. See instructions.)

H (d) Is this a separate return filed by an organization covered by a group ruling? Yes No

G Web site: N/A

J Organization type (check only one)

501(c) 3 (insert no) 4947(a)(1) or 527

K Check here if the organization's gross receipts are normally not more than \$25,000. The organization need not file a return with the IRS, but if the organization received a Form 990 Package in the mail, it should file a return without financial data. Some states require a complete return.

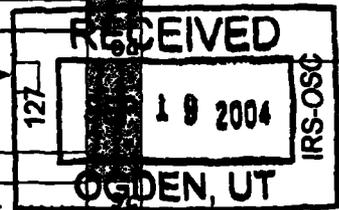
I Group Exemption Number

M Check if the organization is not required to attach Schedule B (Form 990, 990-EZ, or 990-PF).

L Gross receipts: Add lines 6b, 8b, 9b, and 10b to line 12. 442,924.

Revenue, Expenses, and Changes in Net Assets or Fund Balances (See Instructions)

Table with 21 rows and 4 columns: Description, (A) Securities, (B) Other, Total. Includes sub-rows for various revenue and expense categories.



SCANNED SEP 28 2004

COMMISSION ON PRESIDENTIAL DEBATES

52-1500977

STATEMENT 4  
FORM 990, PART IV, LINE 58  
OTHER ASSETS

ROUNDING

TOTAL \$ 2.

STATEMENT 5  
FORM 990, PART IV, LINE 65  
OTHER LIABILITIES

PAYROLL TAX LIABILITIES

TOTAL \$ 1,372.

STATEMENT 6  
FORM 990, PART V  
LIST OF OFFICERS, DIRECTORS, TRUSTEES, AND KEY EMPLOYEES

NAME AND ADDRESS	TITLE AND AVERAGE HOURS PER WEEK DEVOTED	COMPEN- SATION	CONTRI- BUTION TO EBP & DC	EXPENSE ACCOUNT/ OTHER
FRANK J. FAHRENKOPF, JR. 555 13TH ST., NW #1010E WASHINGTON, DC 20004	CO-CHAIRMAN NONE	\$ 0.	\$ 0.	\$ 0.
PAUL G. KIRK, JR. 62 SAWMILL RD MARSTON-MILLS, MA 02648	CO-CHAIRMAN NONE	0.	0.	0.
NEWTON N. MINOW BANK ONE PLAZA, #4800 CHICAGO, IL 60603	VICE-CHAIRMAN NONE	0.	0.	0.
JOHN C. DANFORTH 211 N. BROADWAY #3600 ST. LOUIS, MO 63102	VICE-CHAIRMAN NONE	0.	0.	0.
ANTONIA HERNANDEZ 634 SOUTH SPRING ST. LOS ANGELES, CA 90014	SECRETARY NONE	0.	0.	0.
CAROLINE KENNEDY 888 PARK AVE. NEW YORK, NY 10021	DIRECTOR NONE	0.	0.	0.
JANET H. BROWN 1200 NEW HAMPSHIRE AVE., NW WASHINGTON, DC 20005	EXEC. DIRECTOR 40+	152,083.	0.	0.
REP. JENNIFER DUNN 1501 LONGWORTH HOUSE OFF BLDG WASHINGTON, DC 20515	DIRECTOR NONE	0.	0.	0.

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COMMISSION ON PRESIDENTIAL DEBATES

52-1500977

STATEMENT 6 (CONTINUED)  
 FORM 990, PART V  
 LIST OF OFFICERS, DIRECTORS, TRUSTEES, AND KEY EMPLOYEES

NAME AND ADDRESS	TITLE AND AVERAGE HOURS PER WEEK DEVOTED	COMPEN- SATION	CONTRI- BUTION TO EBP & DC	EXPENSE ACCOUNT/ OTHER
HOWARD G. BUFFET 1004 E. ILLINOIS ST. ASSUMPTION, IL 62510	TREASURER NONE	\$ 0.	\$ 0.	\$ 0.
DOROTHY RIDINGS 1828 L STREET, NW WASHINGTON, DC 20036	DIRECTOR NONE	0.	0.	0.
SEN. ALAN K. SIMPSON 1201 SUNSHINE AVE CODY, WY 82414	DIRECTOR NONE	0.	0.	0.
TOTAL		\$ 152,083.	\$ 0.	\$ 0.

STATEMENT 7  
 SCHEDULE A, PART IV-A, LINE 22  
 OTHER INCOME

DESCRIPTION	(A) 2002	(B) 2001	(C) 2000	(D) 1999	(E) TOTAL
EXPENSE REIMBURSEMENT	\$ 0.	\$ 0.	\$ 10,000.	\$ 0.	\$ 10,000.
TOTAL	\$ 0.	\$ 0.	\$ 10,000.	\$ 0.	\$ 10,000.

12002/11/14/03/1

Return of Organization Exempt from Income Tax

2004

Under section 501(c), 527, or 4947(a)(1) of the Internal Revenue Code (except black lung benefit trust or private foundation)

Open to Public Inspection

Department of the Treasury Internal Revenue Service

The organization may have to use a copy of this return to satisfy state reporting requirements

A For the 2004 calendar year, or tax year beginning 2004, and ending

B Check if applicable: Address change, Name change, Initial return, Final return, Amended return, Application pending. Please use IRS label or print or type. See specific instructions. COMMISSION ON PRESIDENTIAL DEBATES 1200 NEW HAMPSHIRE AVENUE, NW #445 WASHINGTON, DC 20036-6802. D Employer Identification Number 52-1500977. E Telephone number 202-872-1020. F Accounting method: Cash, Accrual, Other (specify).

H and I are not applicable to section 527 organizations. H (a) Is this a group return for affiliates? Yes No. H (b) If 'Yes,' enter number of affiliates. H (c) Are all affiliates included? Yes No. H (d) Is this a separate return filed by an organization covered by a group ruling? Yes No.

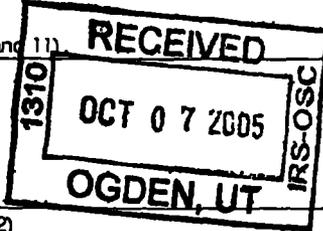
G Web site: N/A

J Organization type (check only one): 501(c) 3 (insert no) 4947(a)(1) or 527

K Check here if the organization's gross receipts are normally not more than \$25,000. The organization need not file a return with the IRS; but if the organization received a Form 990 Package in the mail, it should file a return without financial data. Some states require a complete return. L Gross receipts: Add lines 6b, 8b, 9b, and 10b to line 12 4,175,903.

Part I Revenue, Expenses, and Changes in Net Assets or Fund Balances (See instructions)

Table with 21 rows and 4 columns. Row 1: Contributions, gifts, grants, and similar amounts received: 1a Direct public support 4,129,000; 1b Indirect public support; 1c Government contributions (grants); 1d Total (add lines 1a through 1c) (cash \$ 4,129,000, noncash \$). Row 2: Program service revenue including government fees and contracts (from Part VII, line 93). Row 3: Membership dues and assessments. Row 4: Interest on savings and temporary cash investments 23,959. Row 5: Dividends and interest from securities. Row 6: Gross rents 20,750; 6b Less: rental expenses; 6c Net rental income or (loss) (subtract line 6b from line 6a) 20,750. Row 7: Other investment income (describe). Row 8: Gross amount from sales of assets other than inventory: 8a (A) Securities 2,194; 8b (B) Other 2,799; 8c Gain or (loss) (attach schedule) STATEMENT 1 -605; 8d Net gain or (loss) (combine line 8c, columns (A) and (B)) -605. Row 9: Special events and activities (attach schedule) If any amount is from gaming, check here: 9a Gross revenue (not including \$ of contributions reported on line 1a); 9b Less: direct expenses other than fundraising expenses; 9c Net income or (loss) from special events (subtract line 9b from line 9a). Row 10: Gross sales of inventory, less returns and allowances: 10a Gross sales of inventory, less returns and allowances; 10b Less: cost of goods sold; 10c Gross profit or (loss) from sales of inventory (attach schedule) (subtract line 10b from line 10a). Row 11: Other revenue (from Part VII, line 103). Row 12: Total revenue (add lines 1d, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6c, 7, 8d, 9c, 10c, and 11) 4,173,104. Row 13: Program services (from line 44, column (B)) 3,131,843. Row 14: Management and general (from line 44, column (C)) 292,521. Row 15: Fundraising (from line 44, column (D)) 9,438. Row 16: Payments to affiliates (attach schedule). Row 17: Total expenses (add lines 16 and 44, column (A)) 3,433,802. Row 18: Excess or (deficit) for the year (subtract line 17 from line 12) 739,302. Row 19: Net assets or fund balances at beginning of year (from line 73, column (A)) 423,719. Row 20: Other changes in net assets or fund balances (attach explanation). Row 21: Net assets or fund balances at end of year (combine lines 18, 19, and 20) 1,163,021.



SCANNED OCT 24 2005

## COMMISSION ON PRESIDENTIAL DEBATES

52-1500977

STATEMENT 7  
FORM 990, PART V  
LIST OF OFFICERS, DIRECTORS, TRUSTEES, AND KEY EMPLOYEES

NAME AND ADDRESS	TITLE AND AVERAGE HOURS PER WEEK DEVOTED	COMPEN- SATION	CONTRI- BUTION TO EBP & DC	EXPENSE ACCOUNT/ OTHER
FRANK J. FAHRENKOPF, JR. 555 13TH ST., NW #1010E WASHINGTON, DC 20004	CO-CHAIRMAN NONE	\$ 0.	\$ 0.	\$ 0.
PAUL G. KIRK, JR. 62 SAWMILL RD MARSTON-MILLS, MA 02648	CO-CHAIRMAN NONE	0.	0.	0.
NEWTON N. MINOW BANK ONE PLAZA, #4800 CHICAGO, IL 60603	VICE-CHAIRMAN NONE	0.	0.	0.
JOHN C. DANFORTH 211 N. BROADWAY #3600 ST. LOUIS, MO 63102	VICE-CHAIRMAN NONE	0.	0.	0.
ANTONIA HERNANDEZ 445 S. FIGUEROA ST. SUITE 3400 LOS ANGELES, CA 90071	SECRETARY NONE	0.	0.	0.
H. PATRICK SWYGERT 2400 SIXTH ST., NW SUITE 402 WASHINGTON, DC 20059	DIRECTOR NONE	0.	0.	0.
CAROLINE KENNEDY 888 PARK AVE. NEW YORK, NY 10021	DIRECTOR NONE	0.	0.	0.
JANET H. BROWN 1200 NEW HAMPSHIRE AVE., NW WASHINGTON, DC 20005	EXEC. DIRECTOR 40+	175,000.	0.	0.
HON. JENNIFER DUNN 1200 19TH ST., NW WASHINGTON, DC 20036	DIRECTOR NONE	0.	0.	0.
HOWARD G. BUFFET 407 S. MORELAND PL. DECATUR, IL 62521	TREASURER NONE	0.	0.	0.
DOROTHY RIDINGS 1828 L STREET, NW WASHINGTON, DC 20036	DIRECTOR NONE	0.	0.	0.
SEN. ALAN K. SIMPSON 1201 SUNSHINE AVE CODY, WY 82414	DIRECTOR NONE	0.	0.	0.
TOTAL		\$ 175,000.	\$ 0.	\$ 0.

Return of Organization Exempt From Income Tax

2005

Under section 501(c), 527, or 4947(a)(1) of the Internal Revenue Code (except black lung benefit trust or private foundation)

Open to Public Inspection

Department of the Treasury Internal Revenue Service

The organization may have to use a copy of this return to satisfy state reporting requirements

A For the 2005 calendar year, or tax year beginning 2005, and ending

- B Check if applicable: Address change, Name change, Initial return, Final return, Amended return, Application pending

COMMISSION ON PRESIDENTIAL DEBATES 1200 NEW HAMPSHIRE AVENUE, NW #445 WASHINGTON, DC 20036-6802

D Employer Identification Number 52-1500977 E Telephone number 202-872-1020 F Accounting method: Cash, Accrual, Other (specify)

Section 501(c)(3) organizations and 4947(a)(1) nonexempt charitable trusts must attach a completed Schedule A (Form 990 or 990-EZ).

- H and I are not applicable to section 527 organizations H (a) Is this a group return for affiliates? H (b) If 'Yes,' enter number of affiliates H (c) Are all affiliates included? H (d) Is this a separate return filed by an organization covered by a group ruling?

G Web site: N/A

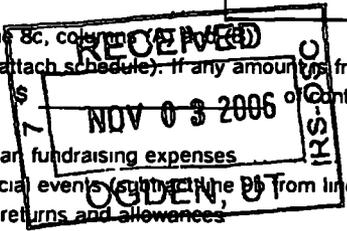
J Organization type (check only one): 501(c) 3 (insert no), 4947(a)(1), 527

K Check here if the organization's gross receipts are normally not more than \$25,000. The organization need not file a return with the IRS, but if the organization chooses to file a return, be sure to file a complete return. Some states require a complete return.

L Gross receipts Add lines 6b, 8b, 9b, and 10b to line 12: 31,319.

Part I Revenue, Expenses, and Changes in Net Assets or Fund Balances (See Instructions)

Table with 21 rows detailing revenue and expenses. Includes sub-rows for contributions, program service revenue, membership dues, interest on savings, dividends, gross rents, sales of assets, special events, and inventory. Total revenue is 31,319 and total expenses is 430,874.



SCANNED NOV 15 2006

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## COMMISSION ON PRESIDENTIAL DEBATES

52-1500977

STATEMENT 5  
FORM 990, PART V-A  
LIST OF OFFICERS, DIRECTORS, TRUSTEES, AND KEY EMPLOYEES

NAME AND ADDRESS	TITLE AND AVERAGE HOURS PER WEEK DEVOTED	COMPEN- SATION	CONTRI- BUTION TO EBP & DC	EXPENSE ACCOUNT/ OTHER
FRANK J. FAHRENKOPF, JR. 555 13TH ST., NW #1010E WASHINGTON, DC 20004	CO-CHAIRMAN 0	\$ 0.	\$ 0.	\$ 0.
PAUL G. KIRK, JR. 62 SAWMILL RD MARSTON-MILLS, MA 02648	CO-CHAIRMAN 0	0.	0.	0.
NEWTON N. MINOW BANK ONE PLAZA, #4800 CHICAGO, IL 60603	VICE-CHAIRMAN 0	0.	0.	0.
JOHN C. DANFORTH 211 N. BROADWAY #3600 ST. LOUIS, MO 63102	VICE-CHAIRMAN 0	0.	0.	0.
ANTONIA HERNANDEZ 445 S. FIGUEROA ST. SUITE 3400 LOS ANGELES, CA 90071	SECRETARY 0	0.	0.	0.
H. PATRICK SWYGERT 2400 SIXTH ST., NW SUITE 402 WASHINGTON, DC 20059	DIRECTOR 0	0.	0.	0.
CAROLINE KENNEDY 888 PARK AVE. NEW YORK, NY 10021	DIRECTOR 0	0.	0.	0.
JANET H. BROWN 1200 NEW HAMPSHIRE AVE., NW WASHINGTON, DC 20005	EXEC. DIRECTOR 0	175,000.	0.	0.
HON. JENNIFER DUNN 1200 19TH ST., NW WASHINGTON, DC 20036	DIRECTOR 0	0.	0.	0.
HOWARD G. BUFFET 407 S. MORELAND PL. DECATUR, IL 62521	TREASURER 0	0.	0.	0.
DOROTHY RIDINGS 1828 L STREET, NW WASHINGTON, DC 20036	DIRECTOR 0	0.	0.	0.
SEN. ALAN K. SIMPSON 1201 SUNSHINE AVE CODY, WY 82414	DIRECTOR 0	0.	0.	0.
	TOTAL	\$ 175,000.	\$ 0.	\$ 0.

52-1500977-2005-1

Return of Organization Exempt From Income Tax

Under section 501(c), 527, or 4947(a)(1) of the Internal Revenue Code (except black lung benefit trust or private foundation)

2006

Open to Public Inspection

Department of the Treasury Internal Revenue Service

The organization may have to use a copy of this return to satisfy state reporting requirements

A For the 2006 calendar year, or tax year beginning 2006, and ending

- B Check if applicable: Address change, Name change, Initial return, Final return, Amended return, Application pending

C COMMISSION ON PRESIDENTIAL DEBATES 1200 NEW HAMPSHIRE AVENUE, NW #445 WASHINGTON, DC 20036-6802

D Employer Identification Number 52-1500977 E Telephone number 202-872-1020 F Accounting method: Cash, Accrual, Other (specify)

Section 501(c)(3) organizations and 4947(a)(1) nonexempt charitable trusts must attach a completed Schedule A (Form 990 or 990-EZ).

- H and I are not applicable to section 527 organizations. H(a) Is this a group return for affiliates? H(b) If 'Yes,' enter number of affiliates. H(c) Are all affiliates included? H(d) Is this a separate return filed by an organization covered by a group ruling?

G Web site: N/A

J Organization type (check only one): 501(c) 3

K Check here if the organization is not a 509(a)(3) supporting organization and its gross receipts are normally not more than \$25,000.

I Group Exemption Number M Check if the organization is not required to attach Schedule B

L Gross receipts Add lines 6b, 8b, 9b, and 10b to line 12: 122,047.

Part I Revenue, Expenses, and Changes in Net Assets or Fund Balances (See the instructions.)

Table with 21 rows and 3 columns: Description, Amount, Total. Includes lines 1-21 for revenue, expenses, and net assets. Total revenue: 122,047. Total expenses: 353,917. Net assets at end of year: 531,596.

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OGDEN, UTAH

SCANNED OCT 31 2007

18917

## COMMISSION ON PRESIDENTIAL DEBATES

52-1500977

STATEMENT 4 (CONTINUED)  
 FORM 990, PART V-A  
 LIST OF OFFICERS, DIRECTORS, TRUSTEES, AND KEY EMPLOYEES

NAME AND ADDRESS	TITLE AND AVERAGE HOURS PER WEEK DEVOTED	COMPEN- SATION	CONTRI- BUTION TO EBP & DC	EXPENSE ACCOUNT/ OTHER
PAUL G. KIRK, JR. 62 SAWMILL RD MARSTON-MILLS, MA 02648	CO-CHAIRMAN 0	\$ 0.	\$ 0.	\$ 0.
NEWTON N. MINOW BANK ONE PLAZA, #4800 CHICAGO, IL 60603	VICE-CHAIRMAN 0	0.	0.	0.
JOHN C. DANFORTH 211 N. BROADWAY #3600 ST. LOUIS, MO 63102	VICE-CHAIRMAN 0	0.	0.	0.
ANTONIA HERNANDEZ 445 S. FIGUEROA ST. SUITE 3400 LOS ANGELES, CA 90071	SECRETARY 0	0.	0.	0.
H. PATRICK SWYGERT 2400 SIXTH ST., NW SUITE 402 WASHINGTON, DC 20059	DIRECTOR 0	0.	0.	0.
MICHAEL D. MCCURRY 633 PENNSYLVANIA AVE., NW 4TH WASHINGTON, DC 20004	DIRECTOR 0	0.	0.	0.
CAROLINE KENNEDY 888 PARK AVE. NEW YORK, NY 10021	DIRECTOR 0	0.	0.	0.
JANET H. BROWN 1200 NEW HAMPSHIRE AVE., NW WASHINGTON, DC 20005	EXEC. DIRECTOR 0	175,000.	0.	0.
HON. JENNIFER DUNN 1200 19TH ST., NW WASHINGTON, DC 20036	DIRECTOR 0	0.	0.	0.
HOWARD G. BUFFET 407 S. MORELAND PL. DECATUR, IL 62521	TREASURER 0	0.	0.	0.
DOROTHY RIDINGS 1828 L STREET, NW WASHINGTON, DC 20036	DIRECTOR 0	0.	0.	0.
SEN. ALAN K. SIMPSON 1201 SUNSHINE AVE CODY, WY 82414	DIRECTOR 0	0.	0.	0.
TOTAL		\$ 175,000.	\$ 0.	\$ 0.

11/03/2006 11:00 AM

Return of Organization Exempt From Income Tax

Under section 501(c), 527, or 4947(a)(1) of the Internal Revenue Code (except black lung benefit trust or private foundation)

Department of the Treasury Internal Revenue Service(7)

The organization may have to use a copy of this return to satisfy state reporting requirements.

A For the 2007 calendar year, or tax year beginning, 2007, and ending

- B Check if applicable: Address change, Name change, Initial return, Termination, Amended return, Application pending

C COMMISSION ON PRESIDENTIAL DEBATES 1200 NEW HAMPSHIRE AVENUE, NW #445 WASHINGTON, DC 20036-6802

D Employer Identification Number

52-1500977

E Telephone number

202-872-1020

F Accounting method

Cash [ ] Accrual [X]

Other (specify)

Section 501(c)(3) organizations and 4947(a)(1) nonexempt charitable trusts must attach a completed Schedule A (Form 990 or 990-EZ).

H and I are not applicable to section 527 organizations

H (a) Is this a group return for affiliates? Yes [ ] No [X]

H (b) If 'Yes,' enter number of affiliates

H (c) Are all affiliates included? Yes [ ] No [X]

H (d) Is this a separate return filed by an organization covered by a group ruling? Yes [ ] No [X]

G Web site: N/A

J Organization type

[X] 501(c) 3 (insert no) [ ] 4947(a)(1) or [ ] 527

K Check here [ ] if the organization is not a 509(a)(3) supporting organization and its gross receipts are normally not more than \$25,000

I Group Exemption Number

M Check [ ] if the organization is not required to attach Schedule B (Form 990, 990-EZ, or 990-PF)

L Gross receipts Add lines 6b, 8b, 9b, and 10b to line 12 5,899,642.

Part I Revenue, Expenses, and Changes in Net Assets or Fund Balances (See the instructions.)

1 Contributions, gifts, grants, and similar amounts received:

a Contributions to donor advised funds

1a

b Direct public support (not included on line 1a)

1b

5,750,042.

c Indirect public support (not included on line 1a)

1c

d Government contributions (grants) (not included on line 1a)

1d

e Total (add lines 1a through 1d) (cash \$ 5,674,000. noncash \$ 76,042.)

1e

5,750,042.

2 Program service revenue including government fees and contracts (from Part VII, line 93)

2

3 Membership dues and assessments

3

4 Interest on savings and temporary cash investments

4

20,631.

5 Dividends and interest from securities

5

6a Gross rents

6a

2,400.

b Less rental expenses

6b

c Net rental income or (loss). Subtract line 6b from line 6a

6c

2,400.

7 Other investment income (describe)

7

8a Gross amount from sales of assets other than inventory

(A) Securities

(B) Other

126,569.

8a

b Less cost or other basis and sales expenses

126,044.

8b

c Gain or (loss) (attach schedule) STATEMENT 1

525.

8c

8d

525.

9 Special events and activities (attach schedule) If any amount is from gaming, check here [ ]

a Gross revenue (not including \$ of contributions reported on line 1b)

9a

b Less direct expenses other than fundraising expenses

9b

c Net income or (loss) from special events Subtract line 9b from line 9a

9c

10a Gross sales of inventory, less returns and allowances

10a

b Less cost of goods sold

10b

c Gross profit or (loss) from sales of inventory (attach schedule) Subtract line 10b from line 10a

10c

11 Other revenue (from Part VII, line 103)

11

12 Total revenue. Add lines 1e, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6c, 7, 8d, 9c, 10c, and 11

12

5,773,598.

13 Program services (from line 44, column (B))

13

350,745.

14 Management and general (from line 44, column (C))

14

209,857.

15 Fundraising (from line 44, column (D))

15

9,223.

16 Payments to affiliates (attach schedule)

16

17 Total expenses. Add lines 16 and 44, column (A)

17

569,825.

18 Excess or (deficit) for the year Subtract line 17 from line 12

18

5,203,773.

19 Net assets or fund balances at beginning of year (from line 73, column (A))

19

531,596.

20 Other changes in net assets or fund balances (attach explanation)

20

21 Net assets or fund balances at end of year Combine lines 18, 19, and 20

21

5,735,369.

6-17

COMMISSION ON PRESIDENTIAL DEBATES

52-1500977

STATEMENT 4  
FORM 990, PART IV, LINE 58  
OTHER ASSETS

DEPOSITS AND OTHER ASSETS

TOTAL \$ 7,899.  
\$ 7,899.

STATEMENT 5  
FORM 990, PART IV, LINE 65  
OTHER LIABILITIES

ROUNDING

TOTAL \$ 1.  
\$ 1.

STATEMENT 6  
FORM 990, PART V-A  
LIST OF OFFICERS, DIRECTORS, TRUSTEES, AND KEY EMPLOYEES

NAME AND ADDRESS	TITLE AND AVERAGE HOURS PER WEEK DEVOTED	COMPEN- SATION	CONTRI- BUTION TO EBP & DC	EXPENSE ACCOUNT/ OTHER
FRANK J. FAHRENKOPF, JR. 555 13TH ST., NW #1010E WASHINGTON, DC 20004	CO-CHAIRMAN 0	\$ 0.	\$ 0.	0.
PAUL G. KIRK, JR. 62 SAWMILL RD MARSTON-MILLS, MA 02648	CO-CHAIRMAN 0	0.	0.	0.
NEWTON N. MINOW BANK ONE PLAZA, #4800 CHICAGO, IL 60603	VICE-CHAIRMAN 0	0.	0.	0.
JOHN C. DANFORTH 211 N. BROADWAY #3600 ST. LOUIS, MO 63102	VICE-CHAIRMAN 0	0.	0.	0.
ANTONIA HERNANDEZ 445 S. FIGUEROA ST. SUITE 3400 LOS ANGELES, CA 90071	SECRETARY 0	0.	0.	0.
H. PATRICK SWYGERT 2400 SIXTH ST., NW SUITE 402 WASHINGTON, DC 20059	DIRECTOR 0	0.	0.	0.
MICHAEL D. MCCURRY 633 PENNSYLVANIA AVE., NW 4TH WASHINGTON, DC 20004	DIRECTOR 0	0.	0.	0.
CAROLINE KENNEDY 888 PARK AVE. NEW YORK, NY 10021	DIRECTOR 0	0.	0.	0.

STATEMENT 6 (CONTINUED)  
 FORM 990, PART V-A  
 LIST OF OFFICERS, DIRECTORS, TRUSTEES, AND KEY EMPLOYEES

<u>NAME AND ADDRESS</u>	<u>TITLE AND AVERAGE HOURS PER WEEK DEVOTED</u>	<u>COMPEN- SATION</u>	<u>CONTRI- BUTION TO EBP &amp; DC</u>	<u>EXPENSE ACCOUNT/ OTHER</u>
JANET H. BROWN 1200 NEW HAMPSHIRE AVE., NW WASHINGTON, DC 20005	EXEC. DIRECTOR 40	\$ 175,000.	\$ 0.	\$ 0.
HOWARD G. BUFFET 407 S. MORELAND PL. DECATUR, IL 62521	TREASURER 0	0.	0.	0.
DOROTHY RIDINGS 1828 L STREET, NW WASHINGTON, DC 20036	DIRECTOR 0	0.	0.	0.
SEN. ALAN K. SIMPSON 1201 SUNSHINE AVE CODY, WY 82414	DIRECTOR 0	0.	0.	0.
	TOTAL	\$ <u>175,000.</u>	\$ <u>0.</u>	\$ <u>0.</u>



Return of Organization Exempt From Income Tax

Under section 501(c), 527, or 4947(a)(1) of the Internal Revenue Code (except black lung benefit trust or private foundation)

2008

Department of the Treasury Internal Revenue Service

The organization may have to use a copy of this return to satisfy state reporting requirements

Open to Public Inspection

For the 2008 calendar year, or tax year beginning 2008, and ending

Form header section containing: B Check if applicable (Address change, Name change, Initial return, Termination, Amended return, Application pending); F Name and address of principal officer (COMMISSION ON PRESIDENTIAL DEBATES); D Employer Identification Number (52-1500977); E Telephone number (202-872-1020); G Gross receipts \$ (1,213,309); H(a) Is this a group return for affiliates?; H(b) Are all affiliates included?; I Tax-exempt status (501(c) (3)); J Website (N/A); K Type of organization (Corporation); L Year of Formation (1987); M State of legal domicile (DC)

Part I Summary table with columns for Activities & Governance, Revenue, Expenses, and Net Assets or Fund Balances. Rows include mission statement, revenue breakdown, and expenses.

RECEIVED NOV 17 2009 OGDEN, UT

Part II Signature Block containing: Signature of officer (Janet H. Brown), Date (11/10/09), Preparer's signature (Niel B. Jefferson, CPA), Firm's name (Denburg & Low, PA, CPAS), EIN (52-1468002), and Phone number (202-785-5600)

5 910



Return of Organization Exempt From Income Tax

Under section 501(c), 527, or 4947(a)(1) of the Internal Revenue Code (except black lung benefit trust or private foundation)

2009

Department of the Treasury Internal Revenue Service

The organization may have to use a copy of this return to satisfy state reporting requirements

Open to Public Inspection

For the 2009 calendar year, or tax year beginning 2009, and ending

Form header section containing: B Check if applicable (Address change, Name change, Initial return, Termination, Amended return, Application pending); C COMMISSION ON PRESIDENTIAL DEBATES 1200 NEW HAMPSHIRE AVENUE, NW #445 WASHINGTON, DC 20036-6802; D Employer Identification Number 52-1500977; E Telephone number 202-872-1020; G Gross receipts \$ 32,872.; F Name and address of principal officer SAME AS C ABOVE; H(a) Is this a group return for affiliates? Yes No; H(b) Are all affiliates included? Yes No; I Tax-exempt status [X] 501(c) ( 3 ) (insert no) 4947(a)(1) or 527; J Website: N/A; K Form of organization [X] Corporation; L Year of Formation 1987; M State of legal domicile DC

Part I Summary table with columns: Description, Prior Year, Current Year. Rows include: 1 Briefly describe the organization's mission or most significant activities ORGANIZE PRESIDENTIAL AND VICE PRESIDENTIAL DEBATES; 2-7a Activities & Governance; 8-12 Revenue; 13-19 Expenses; 20-22 Net Assets or Fund Balances.

Part II Signature Block. Includes: Sign Here (Signature of officer: JANE T. H. BROWN, Date: 11/1/10); Preparer's Use Only (Preparer's signature: NIEL B. JEFFERSON, CPA, Date: 10/27/10; Firm's name: DENBURG & LOW, CPAS, 1350 CONNECTICUT AVE, NW, #850 WASHINGTON, DC 20036; EIN: 52-1468002; Phone no: 202-785-5600)

May the IRS discuss this return with the preparer shown above? (see instructions) [X] Yes [ ] No
BAA For Privacy Act and Paperwork Reduction Act Notice, see the separate instructions. TEEA0113L 12/29/09 Form 990 (2009)

11/11/2010 11:42:01 AM

SCANNED NOV 29 2010

918

15

**Part VII Compensation of Officers, Directors, Trustees, Key Employees, Highest Compensated Employees, and Independent Contractors**

**Section A. Officers, Directors, Trustees, Key Employees, and Highest Compensated Employees**

1a Complete this table for all persons required to be listed Report compensation for the calendar year ending with or within the organizations's tax year Use Schedule J-2 if additional space is needed

- List all of the organization's current officers, directors, trustees (whether individuals or organizations), regardless of amount of compensation Enter -0- in columns (D), (E), and (F) if no compensation was paid
- List all of the organization's current key employees See instructions for definition of 'key employees'
- List the organization's five current highest compensated employees (other than an officer, director, trustee, or key employee) who received reportable compensation (Box 5 of Form W-2 and/or Box 7 of Form 1099-MISC) of more than \$100,000 from the organization and any related organizations
- List all of the organization's former officers, key employees, and highest compensated employees who received more than \$100,000 of reportable compensation from the organization and any related organizations
- List all of the organization's former directors or trustees that received, in the capacity as a former director or trustee of the organization, more than \$10,000 of reportable compensation from the organization and any related organizations

List persons in the following order individual trustees or directors; institutional trustees, officers, key employees, highest compensated employees, and former such persons

Check this box if the organization did not compensate any current officer, director, or trustee

(A) Name and Title	(B) Average hours per week	(C) Position (check all that apply)						(D) Reportable compensation from the organization (W-2/1099-MISC)	(E) Reportable compensation from related organizations (W-2/1099-MISC)	(F) Estimated amount of other compensation from the organization and related organizations
		Individual trustee or director	Institutional trustee	Officer	Key employee	Highest compensated employee	Former			
FRANK J. FAHRENKOFF, JR. CO-CHAIRMAN	1	X		X				0.	0.	0.
NEWTON N. MINOW VICE-CHAIRMAN	1	X		X				0.	0.	0.
JOHN C. DANFORTH VICE-CHAIRMAN	1	X		X				0.	0.	0.
ANTONIA HERNANDEZ SECRETARY	1	X		X				0.	0.	0.
H. PATRICK SWYGERT DIRECTOR	1	X						0.	0.	0.
MICHAEL D. MCCURRY CO-CHAIRMAN	1	X		X				0.	0.	0.
CAROLINE KENNEDY DIRECTOR	1	X						0.	0.	0.
HOWARD G. BUFFET TREASURER	1	X		X				0.	0.	0.
DOROTHY RIDINGS DIRECTOR	1	X						0.	0.	0.
SEN. ALAN K. SIMPSON DIRECTOR	1	X						0.	0.	0.
JANET H. BROWN EXEC. DIRECTOR	40			X				200,000.	0.	49,000.

Return of Organization Exempt From Income Tax
Under section 501(c), 527, or 4947(a)(1) of the Internal Revenue Code
(except black lung benefit trust or private foundation)

OMB No 1545-0047

2010

Open to Public Inspection

Department of the Treasury Internal Revenue Service

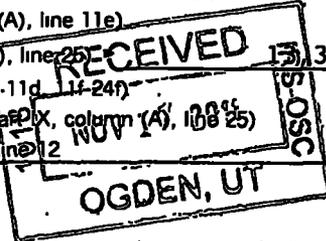
The organization may have to use a copy of this return to satisfy state reporting requirements.

A For the 2010 calendar year, or tax year beginning 2010, and ending

B Check if applicable: Address change, Name change, Initial return, Terminated, Amended return, Application pending.
D Employer Identification Number: 52-1500977
E Telephone number: 202-872-1020
G Gross receipts \$: 68,297.
F Name and address of principal officer: JANET H. BROWN, SAME AS C ABOVE
H(a) Is this a group return for affiliates? Yes No
H(b) Are all affiliates included? Yes No
I Tax-exempt status: X 501(c)(3), 501(c) ( ) (insert no), 4947(a)(1) or 527
J Website: DEBATES.ORG
K Form of organization: X Corporation, Trust, Association, Other
L Year of formation: 1987
M State of legal domicile: DC

Part I Summary

Table with 19 rows of financial data. Columns include: Description, Prior Year, Current Year, Beginning of Current Year, End of Year.
1 Briefly describe the organization's mission or most significant activities: ORGANIZE GENERAL ELECTION PRESIDENTIAL AND VICE PRESIDENTIAL DEBATES
2 Check this box if the organization discontinued its operations or disposed of more than 25% of its net assets
3 Number of voting members of the governing body (Part VI, line 1a): 3
4 Number of independent voting members of the governing body (Part VI, line 1b): 11
5 Total number of individuals employed in calendar year 2010 (Part V, line 2a): 2
6 Total number of volunteers (estimate if necessary): 0
7a Total unrelated business revenue from Part VIII, column (C), line 12: 0
7b Net unrelated business taxable income from Form 990-T, line 34: 0
8 Contributions and grants (Part VIII, line 1h): 20,900
9 Program service revenue (Part VIII, line 2g): 50,000
10 Investment income (Part VIII, column (A), lines 3, 4, and 7d): 10,172
11 Other revenue (Part VIII, column (A), lines 5, 6d, 8c, 9c, 10c, and 11e): 1,800
12 Total revenue - add lines 8 through 11 (must equal Part VIII, column (A), line 12): 32,872
13 Grants and similar amounts paid (Part IX, column (A), lines 1-3)
14 Benefits paid to or for members (Part IX, column (A), line 4)
15 Salaries, other compensation, employee benefits (Part IX, column (A), lines 5-10): 368,368
16a Professional fundraising fees (Part IX, column (A), line 11e)
16b Total fundraising expenses (Part IX, column (D), line 25): 13,334
17 Other expenses (Part IX, column (A), lines 11a-11d, 11f-24f): 427,479
18 Total expenses. Add lines 13-17 (must equal Part IX, column (A), line 25): 795,847
19 Revenue less expenses. Subtract line 18 from line 12: -762,975
20 Total assets (Part X, line 16)
21 Total liabilities (Part X, line 26)
22 Net assets or fund balances Subtract line 21 from line 20: 2,693,121



Part II Signature Block

Under penalties of perjury, I declare that I have examined this return, including accompanying schedules and statements, and to the best of my knowledge and belief, it is true, correct, and complete. Declaration of preparer (other than officer) is based on all information of which preparer has any knowledge.

Sign Here: Signature of officer: JANET H. BROWN, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR. Date: 11/10/11.

Paid Preparer Use Only: Print/preparer's name: NIEL B. JEFFERSON, CPA. Preparer's signature: [Signature]. Date: 11/5/11. Firm's name: DENBURG & LOW, PA, CPAS. Firm's address: 1350 CONNECTICUT AVE, NW, #850 WASHINGTON, DC 20036. Firm's EIN: 52-1468002. Phone no: 202-785-5600.

May the IRS discuss this return with the preparer shown above? (see instructions) X Yes No

SCANNED DEC 13 2011

Activities & Governance Expenses

6 917

**Part VII Compensation of Officers, Directors, Trustees, Key Employees, Highest Compensated Employees, and Independent Contractors**

Check if Schedule O contains a response to any question in this Part VII

**Section A. Officers, Directors, Trustees, Key Employees, and Highest Compensated Employees**

1 a Complete this table for all persons required to be listed Report compensation for the calendar year ending with or within the organization's tax year.

- List all of the organization's current officers, directors, trustees (whether individuals or organizations), regardless of amount of compensation Enter -0- in columns (D), (E), and (F) if no compensation was paid.
- List all of the organization's current key employees, if any See instructions for definition of 'key employee'
- List the organization's five current highest compensated employees (other than an officer, director, trustee, or key employee) who received reportable compensation (Box 5 of Form W-2 and/or Box 7 of Form 1099-MISC) of more than \$100,000 from the organization and any related organizations
- List all of the organization's former officers, key employees, and highest compensated employees who received more than \$100,000 of reportable compensation from the organization and any related organizations
- List all of the organization's former directors or trustees that received, in the capacity as a former director or trustee of the organization, more than \$10,000 of reportable compensation from the organization and any related organizations.

List persons in the following order: individual trustees or directors; institutional trustees; officers; key employees; highest compensated employees; and former such persons.

Check this box if neither the organization nor any related organization compensated any current officer, director, or trustee.

(A) Name and title	(B) Average hours per week (describe hours for related organizations in Schedule O)	(C) Position (check all that apply)						(D) Reportable compensation from the organization (W-2/1099-MISC)	(E) Reportable compensation from related organizations (W-2/1099-MISC)	(F) Estimated amount of other compensation from the organization and related organizations
		Individual trustee or director	Institutional trustee	Officer	Key employee	Highest compensated employee	Former			
(1) FRANK J. FAHRENKOPF, JR CO-CHAIRMAN	1	X		X			0.	0.	0.	
(2) RICHARD D. PARSONS DIRECTOR	1	X					0.	0.	0.	
(3) NEWTON N. MINOW VICE-CHAIRMAN	1	X		X			0.	0.	0.	
(4) JOHN C. DANFORTH VICE-CHAIRMAN	1	X		X			0.	0.	0.	
(5) ANTONIA HERNANDEZ SECRETARY	1	X		X			0.	0.	0.	
(6) JOHN GRIFFEN DIRECTOR	1	X					0.	0.	0.	
(7) MICHAEL D. MCCURRY CO-CHAIRMAN	1	X		X			0.	0.	0.	
(8) CAROLINE KENNEDY DIRECTOR	1	X					0.	0.	0.	
(9) HOWARD G. BUFFET DIRECTOR	1	X					0.	0.	0.	
(10) DOROTHY RIDINGS DIRECTOR	1	X					0.	0.	0.	
(11) SEN. ALAN K. SIMPSON DIRECTOR	1	X					0.	0.	0.	
(12) JANET H. BROWN EXEC. DIRECTOR	40			X			200,000.	0.	49,000.	
(13)										
(14)										
(15)										
(16)										
(17)										

Return of Organization Exempt From Income Tax

OMB No 1545-0047

2011

Under section 501(c), 527, or 4947(a)(1) of the Internal Revenue Code (except black lung benefit trust or private foundation)

Open to Public Inspection

Department of the Treasury Internal Revenue Service

The organization may have to use a copy of this return to satisfy state reporting requirements

A For the 2011 calendar year, or tax year beginning 2011, and ending

B Check if applicable: Address change, Name change, Initial return, Terminated, Amended return, Application pending. C COMMISSION ON PRESIDENTIAL DEBATES 1200 NEW HAMPSHIRE AVENUE, NW #445 WASHINGTON, DC 20036-6802. D Employer Identification Number 52-1500977. E Telephone number 202-872-1020. G Gross receipts \$ 5,051,369. F Name and address of principal officer SAME AS C ABOVE. H(a) Is this a group return for affiliates? Yes No. H(b) Are all affiliates included? Yes No. I Tax-exempt status [X] 501(c)(3) 501(c) ( ) 4947(a)(1) or 527. J Website: DEBATES.ORG. K Form of organization [X] Corporation Trust Association Other. L Year of Formation 1987. M State of legal domicile DC.

Part I Summary

Table with columns for Activities & Governance, Revenue, Expenses, and Balance Sheet. Rows include mission statement (ORGANIZE GENERAL ELECTION), membership counts, revenue (5,051,369), expenses (794,668), and net assets (6,352,876).

RECEIVED SEP 27 2012 OGDEN, UT

Part II Signature Block

Under penalties of perjury, I declare that I have examined this return, including accompanying schedules and statements, and to the best of my knowledge and belief, it is true, correct, and complete. Declaration of preparer (other than officer) is based on all information of which preparer has any knowledge.

Sign Here: Signature of officer, Date 9/20/12, Type or print name and title.

Preparer Use Only: Preparer's name NIEL B. JEFFERSON, CPA, Date 9/17/12, Firm's name DENBURG & LOW, PA, CPAS, Firm's address 1350 CONNECTICUT AVE, NW, #850 WASHINGTON, DC 20036.

May the IRS discuss this return with the preparer shown above? (see instructions) [X] Yes [ ] No

617 M



**Return of Organization Exempt From Income Tax**  
 Under section 501(c), 527, or 4947(a)(1) of the Internal Revenue Code  
 (except black lung benefit trust or private foundation)

**2012**

Open to Public Inspection

Department of the Treasury  
 Internal Revenue Service

The organization may have to use a copy of this return to satisfy state reporting requirements

**A For the 2012 calendar year, or tax year beginning** , 2012, and ending

**B** Check if applicable:  
 Address change  
 Name change  
 Initial return  
 Terminated  
 Amended return  
 Application pending

**C** COMMISSION ON PRESIDENTIAL DEBATES  
 1200 NEW HAMPSHIRE AVENUE, NW #445  
 WASHINGTON, DC 20036-6802

**D** Employer Identification Number: 52-1500977

**E** Telephone number: 202-872-1020

**F** Name and address of principal officer: SAME AS C ABOVE

**G** Gross receipts \$ 2,711,803.

**H(a)** Is this a group return for affiliates?  Yes  No  
**H(b)** Are all affiliates included?  Yes  No  
 If "No," attach a list (see instructions)

**I** Tax-exempt status:  501(c)(3)  501(c) ( ) (insert no)  4947(a)(1) or  527

**J** Website: DEBATES.ORG

**K** Form of organization:  Corporation  Trust  Association  Other

**L** Year of Formation: 1987 **M** State of legal domicile: DC

**Part I Summary**

<b>Activities &amp; Governance</b>	<b>1</b> Briefly describe the organization's mission or most significant activities. <u>ORGANIZE GENERAL ELECTION PRESIDENTIAL AND VICE PRESIDENTIAL DEBATES</u>		
	<b>2</b> Check this box <input type="checkbox"/> if the organization discontinued its operations or disposed of more than 25% of its net assets		
	<b>3</b> Number of voting members of the governing body (Part VI, line 1a)	3	11
	<b>4</b> Number of independent voting members of the governing body (Part VI, line 1b)	4	11
	<b>5</b> Total number of individuals employed in calendar year 2012 (Part V, line 2a)	5	9
	<b>6</b> Total number of volunteers (estimate if necessary)	6	0
	<b>7a</b> Total unrelated business revenue from Part VIII, column (C), line 12	7a	0.
<b>b</b> Net unrelated business taxable income from Form 990-T, line 34	7b	0.	
<b>Revenue</b>	<b>8</b> Contributions and grants (Part VIII, line 1h)	Prior Year	Current Year
	<b>9</b> Program service revenue (Part VIII, line 2g)	5,041,750.	2,706,000.
	<b>10</b> Investment income (Part VIII, column (A), lines 3, 4, and 7d)	7,822.	-1,139.
	<b>11</b> Other revenue (Part VIII, column (A), lines 5, 6d, 8c, 9c, 10c, and 11e)	1,797.	
	<b>12</b> Total revenue -- add lines 8 through 11 (must equal Part VIII, column (A), line 12)	5,051,369.	2,704,861.
<b>Expenses</b>	<b>13</b> Grants and similar amounts paid (Part IX, column (A), lines 1-3)		
	<b>14</b> Benefits paid to or for members (Part IX, column (A), line 4)		
	<b>15</b> Salaries, other compensation, employee benefits (Part IX, column (A), lines 5-10)	394,329.	621,928.
	<b>16a</b> Professional fundraising fees (Part IX, column (A), line 11)		
	<b>b</b> Total fundraising expenses (Part IX, column (D), line 25)	19,780.	
	<b>17</b> Other expenses (Part IX, column (A), lines 11a-11d, 11-24e)	400,339.	3,534,519.
	<b>18</b> Total expenses Add lines 13-17 (must equal Part IX, column (A), line 25)	794,668.	4,156,447.
<b>19</b> Revenue less expenses Subtract line 18 from line 12	4,256,701.	-1,451,586.	
<b>Net Assets or Fund Balances</b>	<b>20</b> Total assets (Part X, line 16)	Beginning of Current Year	End of Year
	<b>21</b> Total liabilities (Part X, line 26)	6,628,996.	5,277,704.
	<b>22</b> Net assets or fund balances Subtract line 21 from line 20	276,120.	372,009.
		6,352,876.	4,905,695.

**Part II Signature Block**

Under penalties of perjury, I declare that I have examined this return, including accompanying schedules and statements, and to the best of my knowledge and belief, it is true, correct, and complete. Declaration of preparer (other than officer) is based on all information of which preparer has any knowledge.

**Sign Here** Signature of officer: [Signature] Date: 11/12/13  
 Type or print name and title: JANET H. BROWN EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

**Paid Preparer Use Only**

Print/Type preparer's name: NIEL B. JEFFERSON, CPA Preparer's signature: [Signature] Date: 10/30/13 Check  if self-employed PTIN: P00067024

Firm's name: DENBURG & LOW, PA, CPAS Firm's EIN: 52-1468002

Firm's address: 1350 CONNECTICUT AVE, NW, #850 WASHINGTON, DC 20036 Phone no: 202-785-5600

May the IRS discuss this return with the preparer shown above? (see instructions)  Yes  No

G17 16

**Part VII Compensation of Officers, Directors, Trustees, Key Employees, Highest Compensated Employees, and Independent Contractors**

Check if Schedule O contains a response to any question in this Part VII

**Section A. Officers, Directors, Trustees, Key Employees, and Highest Compensated Employees**

**1 a** Complete this table for all persons required to be listed Report compensation for the calendar year ending with or within the organization's tax year

- List all of the organization's current officers, directors, trustees (whether individuals or organizations), regardless of amount of compensation Enter -0- in columns (D), (E), and (F) if no compensation was paid
- List all of the organization's current key employees, if any See instructions for definition of 'key employee'
- List the organization's five current highest compensated employees (other than an officer, director, trustee, or key employee) who received reportable compensation (Box 5 of Form W-2 and/or Box 7 of Form 1099-MISC) of more than \$100,000 from the organization and any related organizations
- List all of the organization's former officers, key employees, and highest compensated employees who received more than \$100,000 of reportable compensation from the organization and any related organizations
- List all of the organization's former directors or trustees that received, in the capacity as a former director or trustee of the organization, more than \$10,000 of reportable compensation from the organization and any related organizations

List persons in the following order: individual trustees or directors; institutional trustees; officers; key employees; highest compensated employees; and former such persons

Check this box if neither the organization nor any related organization compensated any current officer, director, or trustee

(A) Name and Title	(B) Average hours per week (list any hours for related organizations below dotted line)	(C) Position (do not check more than one box, unless person is both an officer and a director/trustee)						(D) Reportable compensation from the organization (W-2/1099-MISC)	(E) Reportable compensation from related organizations (W-2/1099-MISC)	(F) Estimated amount of other compensation from the organization and related organizations
		Individual trustee or director	Institutional trustee	Officer	Key employee	Highest compensated employee	Former			
(1) FRANK J. FAHRENKOPF, JR CO-CHAIRMAN	1 0	X		X				0.	0.	0.
(2) RICHARD D. PARSONS DIRECTOR	1 0	X						0.	0.	0.
(3) NEWTON N. MINOW VICE-CHAIRMAN	1 0	X		X				0.	0.	0.
(4) JOHN C. DANFORTH VICE-CHAIRMAN	1 0	X		X				0.	0.	0.
(5) ANTONIA HERNANDEZ SECRETARY	1 0	X		X				0.	0.	0.
(6) JOHN GRIFFEN DIRECTOR	1 0	X						0.	0.	0.
(7) MICHAEL D. MCCURRY CO-CHAIRMAN	1 0	X		X				0.	0.	0.
(8) REV. JOHN I. JENKINS DIRECTOR	1 0	X						0.	0.	0.
(9) HOWARD G. BUFFET DIRECTOR	1 0	X						0.	0.	0.
(10) DOROTHY RIDINGS DIRECTOR	1 0	X						0.	0.	0.
(11) SEN. ALAN K. SIMPSON DIRECTOR	1 0	X						0.	0.	0.
(12) JANET H. BROWN EXEC. DIRECTOR	40 0			X				240,000.	0.	50,000.
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## POLITICO

### Presidential debate questions and transcript, Oct. 3, 2012 (full text, video)

By: POLITICO Staff  
October 3, 2012 09:26 PM EDT

Transcript of the Oct. 3, 2012, presidential debate at the University of Denver as prepared by the Commission on Presidential Debates with permission to re-publish:

PRESIDENT BARACK OBAMA AND FORMER GOV. MITT ROMNEY, R-MASS., PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE, PARTICIPATE IN A CANDIDATES DEBATE, UNIVERSITY OF DENVER, COLORADO

OCTOBER 3, 2012

SPEAKERS: FORMER GOV. MITT ROMNEY, R-MASS.

PRESIDENT BARACK OBAMA

JIM LEHRER, MODERATOR

JANET BROWN,  
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR,  
COMMISSION ON PRESIDENTIAL DEBATES.

FRANK FAHRENKOPF,  
CO-CHAIRMAN,  
COMMISSION ON PRESIDENTIAL DEBATES

MIKE MCCURRY,  
CO-CHAIRMAN,  
COMMISSION ON PRESIDENTIAL DEBATES,

[\*]  
BROWN: We'd like to get started on the program that you will see unfold here before the debate actually starts in the next — slightly less than 30 minutes. My name is Janet Brown. I'm the executive director of the Commission on Presidential Debates. And I'd like to welcome you to the first debate of the 2012 general election season. We are very...

(APPLAUSE)

Go, Pioneers.

(APPLAUSE)

We're very grateful to be here on this beautiful campus, very grateful to the leadership of the university, to the entire community, to the city of Denver, to the state of Colorado.

My happy duty is to introduce some people that will thank a lot of the organizations and individuals who have been working for two years to make tonight possible. There are many of them, and their contribution is critical to what you will see unfold here over the next hour-and-a-half.

BROWN: I am going to start by introducing the co-chairmen of the Commission on Presidential Debates, Frank Fahrenkopf and Mike McCurry.

(APPLAUSE)

FAHRENKOPF: Good afternoon, ladies and gentleman. And welcome to this great city, this great hall, and this most important debate.

This is actually a very, very important time for the Commission on Presidential Debates because this is our 25th anniversary. It was in 1987 when then Democratic Chairman Paul Kirk, when I was chairman of the Republican National Committee, formed the Commission on Presidential Debates. Tonight is the 23rd debate in the general elections that we've conducted through seven terms, seven different cycles. So it's a very, very important — important time for us.

But it's also in one way a sad one for me, and that is that Paul Kirk is no longer the co-chairman of this commission. For most of you in this audience in Washington that you know, that when Ted Kennedy passed away, Paul was appointed and to serve in his seat until the special election was held in Massachusetts. And Paul at that time resigned.

But Paul was with us for 25 years. We know that he and Gail (ph) are sitting out on Cape Cod right now watching this on C-SPAN. And all of us on the commission, not only the

THE DENVER POST





Our students have been with us all the way on this. They have played an amazing part in staging the entire thing, from planning to logistics. And so I'd simply like to say thank you to you, Pioneers.

(APPLAUSE)

For those of us who — who make our lives here at the University of Denver, those of us who study and teach and do research, and, really, all of us in the Denver community, this is a particularly important event. It's the first presidential debate to be held in our city, the first in the state, and, really, only one of a few in the West.

Over the last several months, the nation has paid particular attention to how we view things in this remarkably beautiful and diverse part of the country, because Colorado is a — is a pivotal state in this election. And while I certainly would not offer any — any opinions in that regard, I would simply say that, as a people, we are generally well-educated and engaged. We are fair-minded and open to new ideas. And I like everybody in our country, we are eager to hear from our candidates.

Once again, thanks so much for being here. It's a great pleasure to host this debate.

(APPLAUSE)

BROWN: Thank you, gentlemen. Ladies and gentlemen, would you join me in welcoming Mrs. Romney and Mrs. Obama?

(APPLAUSE)

One of the great privileges of working for the Commission on Presidential Debates is to work with Jim Lehrer. This is the 12th time that he will moderate a debate. I would like to introduce him now.

(APPLAUSE)

LEHRER: Let me be the very last to welcome you to this very important event, this presidential debate. Show of hands, how many of you all have been in the hall for one of these fall presidential — vice presidential debates before?

OK, so you all know the rules: absolute silence. Those of you who have been in or watched on television the primary debates know that is not the case. The rules are different here for these events. In the early days, when I first started addressing the audience in the hall, I threatened people. I mean, I'd say, OK, you make noise, you hiss and boo or — or even applaud, cheer, I'll turn around and I'll stop and I'll make you stand up and humiliate you in front of the whole world.

(LAUGHTER)

I don't do that anymore, because I don't need to, because everybody knows the drill. Certainly all of you do. You've come here for a very important reason. Most of you are here as committed supporters of President Obama or Governor Romney or others involved in this electoral process, and you know how important this event is.

And it's important because it's about those millions and millions of people who are going to watch this event tonight. They're — they're watching to make a decision, one of the most important decisions a citizen of this country makes, and so it's — it behooves all of you and me, us, in other words, to help the dialogue. And you can help me by remaining quiet, as well.

I — this has — we've got a new kind of complicated format here tonight. And I've got to be — I've got to be really concentrating. I want to be concentrating on what the candidates are saying, along with you, rather than what's going on behind me. And — and I know you're going to do that. And I don't have any fear that you all will.

And, I mean, if you hear something that's really terrific, sit on it. If you hear something you don't like, sit on it. And — and it'll — it'll work.

And as I say, I have no — no fear that anybody's going to do anything, but as a precaution, I'm going to ask Mrs. Obama on this side and Mrs. Romney on this side to enforce the rules on your side...

(LAUGHTER)

... and your side. Take names. I'll humiliate them. I'll do anything, whatever. But, anyhow.

The drill here is what you see in a few moments, we're going to start. I'm going to sit down. My back's going to be to you, and we'll introduce — I'm going to do an opening through this — TelePrompTer's right there. And I'm going to do an opening, welcome, everybody, to the event. And then President Obama is going to come in from the right, Governor Romney from the left. They'll shake hands. They'll go behind the podium. And we'll be on the way.

And between now and then, you can feel free to talk and do whatever — any noise you would like to make. But once I sit down and I'll turn around and say, OK, shh, or words of that effect, please. And — and when they do come in — there is one exception — when

they do come in, you can applaud. I'm going to applaud. I'm going to stay seated and applaud. You can applaud then and at the very end. At the very end, I'm going to look at that prompter again and I'm going to say good night to everybody, and then we can all applaud then, as well.

LEHRER: But in between, 90 minutes of wonderful, serious, delightful silence. OK, let's have a good time.

(APPLAUSE)

LEHRER: Thirty seconds, folks. Let's have a terrific evening, for all of you and for our country.

Good evening from the Magness Arena at the University of Denver in Denver, Colorado. I'm Jim Lehrer of the "PBS NewsHour," and I welcome you to the first of the 2012 presidential debates between President Barack Obama, the Democratic nominee, and former Massachusetts Governor Mitt Romney, the Republican nominee.

LEHRER: This debate and the next three — two presidential, one vice presidential — are sponsored by the Commission on Presidential Debates. Tonight's 90 minutes will be about domestic issues and will follow a format designed by the commission. There will be six roughly 15-minute segments with two-minute answers for the first question, then open discussion for the remainder of each segment.

Thousands of people offered suggestions on segment subjects or questions via the Internet and other means, but I made the final selections. And for the record, they were not submitted for approval to the commission or the candidates.

The segments as I announced in advance will be three on the economy and one each on health care, the role of government and governing, with an emphasis throughout on differences, specifics and choices. Both candidates will also have two-minute closing statements.

The audience here in the hall has promised to remain silent — no cheers, applause, boos, hisses, among other noisy distracting things, so we may all concentrate on what the candidates have to say. There is a noise exception right now, though, as we welcome President Obama and Governor Romney.

(APPLAUSE)

Gentlemen, welcome to you both. Let's start the economy, segment one, and let's begin with jobs. What are the major differences between the two of you about how you would go about creating new jobs?

LEHRER: You have two minutes. Each of you have two minutes to start. A coin toss has determined, Mr. President, you go first.

OBAMA: Well, thank you very much, Jim, for this opportunity. I want to thank Governor Romney and the University of Denver for your hospitality.

There are a lot of points I want to make tonight, but the most important one is that 20 years ago I became the luckiest man on Earth because Michelle Obama agreed to marry me.

And so I just want to wish, Sweetie, you happy anniversary and let you know that a year from now we will not be celebrating it in front of 40 million people.

(LAUGHTER)

You know, four years ago we went through the worst financial crisis since the Great Depression. Millions of jobs were lost, the auto industry was on the brink of collapse. The financial system had frozen up.

And because of the resilience and the determination of the American people, we've begun to fight our way back. Over the last 30 months, we've seen 5 million jobs in the private sector created. The auto industry has come roaring back. And housing has begun to rise.

But we all know that we've still got a lot of work to do. And so the question here tonight is not where we've been, but where we're going.

Governor Romney has a perspective that says if we cut taxes, skewed towards the wealthy, and roll back regulations, that we'll be better off. I've got a different view.

I think we've got to invest in education and training. I think it's important for us to develop new sources of energy here in America, that we change our tax code to make sure that we're helping small businesses and companies that are investing here in the United States, that we take some of the money that we're saving as we wind down two wars to rebuild America and that we reduce our deficit in a balanced way that allows us to make these critical investments.

Now, it ultimately is going to be up to the voters, to you, which path we should take. Are we going to double-down on the top-down economic policies that helped to get us into this mess? Or do we embrace a new economic patriotism that says America does best when



LEHRER: Both of you have spoken about a lot of different things, and we're going to try to get through them in as specific a way as we possibly can.

But, first, Governor Romney, do you have a question that you'd like to ask the president directly about something he just said?

ROMNEY: Well, sure. I'd like to clear up the record and go through it piece by piece.

First of all, I don't have a \$5 trillion tax cut. I don't have a tax cut of a scale that you're talking about. My view is that we ought to provide tax relief to people in the middle class. But I'm not going to reduce the share of taxes paid by high-income people. High-income people are doing just fine in this economy. They'll do fine whether you're president or I am.

The people who are having the hard time right now are middle-income Americans. Under the president's policies, middle-income Americans have been buried. They're just being crushed. Middle-income Americans have seen their income come down by \$4,300. This is a — this is a tax in and of itself. I'll call it the economy tax. It's been crushing.

At the same time, gasoline prices have doubled under the president. Electric rates are up. Food prices are up. Health care costs have gone up by \$2,500 a family. Middle-income families are being crushed.

ROMNEY: And so the question is how to get them going again. And I've described it. It's energy and trade, the right kind of training programs, balancing our budget and helping small business. Those are the — the cornerstones of my plan.

But the president mentioned a couple of other ideas I'll just note. First, education. I agree: Education is key, particularly the future of our economy. But our training programs right now, we've got 47 of them, housed in the federal government, reporting to eight different agencies. Overhead is overwhelming. We've got to get those dollars back to the states and go to the workers so they can create their own pathways to get in the training they need for jobs that will really help them.

The second area, taxation, we agree, we ought to bring the tax rates down. And I do, both for corporations and for individuals. But in order for us not to lose revenue, have the government run out of money, I also lower deductions and credits and exemptions, so that we keep taking in the same money when you also account for growth.

The third area, energy. Energy is critical, and the president pointed out correctly that production of oil and gas in the U.S. is up. But not due to his policies. In spite of his policies.

Mr. President, all of the increase in natural gas and oil has happened on private land, not on government land. On government land, your administration has cut the number of permits and licenses in half. If I'm president, I'll double them, and also get the — the oil from offshore and Alaska. And I'll bring that pipeline in from Canada.

And, by the way, I like coal. I'm going to make sure we can continue to burn clean coal. People in the coal industry feel like it's getting crushed by your policies. I want to get America and North America energy independent so we can create those jobs.

And finally, with regards to that tax cut, look, I'm not looking to cut massive taxes and to reduce the — the revenues going to the government. My — my number-one principal is, there will be no tax cut that adds to the deficit. I want to underline that: no tax cut that adds to the deficit.

But I do want to reduce the burden being paid by middle-income Americans. And I — and to do that, that also means I cannot reduce the burden paid by high-income Americans. So any — any language to the contrary is simply not accurate. LEHRER: Mr. President?

OBAMA: Well, I think — let's talk about taxes, because I think it's instructive. Now, four years ago, when I stood on this stage, I said that I would cut taxes for middle-class families. And that's exactly what I did. We cut taxes for middle-class families by about \$3,600.

And the reason is, because I believe that we do best when the middle class is doing well. And by giving them those tax cuts, they had a little more money in their pocket, and so maybe they can buy a new car. They are certainly in a better position to weather the extraordinary recession that we went through. They can buy a computer for their kid who's going off to college, which means they're spending more money, businesses have more customers, businesses make more profits, and then hire more workers.

Now, Governor Romney's proposal that he has been promoting for 18 months calls for a \$5 trillion tax cut, on top of \$2 trillion of additional spending for our military. And he is saying that he is going to pay for it by closing loopholes and deductions. The problem is that he's been asked over 100 times how you would close those deductions and loopholes, and he hasn't been able to identify them.

But I'm going to make an important point here, Jim.

LEHRER: All right.

OBAMA: When you add up all the loopholes and deductions that upper-income individuals

LEHRER: All right.

can — are currently taking advantage of, you take those all away, you don't come close to paying for \$5 trillion in tax cuts and \$2 trillion in additional military spending.

OBAMA: And that's why independent studies looking at this said the only way to meet Governor Romney's pledge of not reducing the deficit or — or — or not adding to the deficit is by burdening middle-class families. The average middle-class family with children would pay about \$2,000 more.

Now, that's not my analysis. That's the analysis of economists who have looked at this. And — and that kind of top — top-down economics, where folks at the top are doing well, so the average person making \$3 million is getting a \$250,000 tax break, while middle-class families are burdened further, that's not what I believe is a recipe for economic growth.

LEHRER: All right. What is the difference? Let's just stay on taxes.

(CROSSTALK)

LEHRER: Just — let's just stay on taxes for (inaudible).

(CROSSTALK)

LEHRER: What is the difference...

ROMNEY: Well, but — but virtually — virtually everything he just said about my tax plan is inaccurate.

LEHRER: All right.

ROMNEY: So if the tax plan he described were a tax plan I was asked to support, I'd say absolutely not. I'm not looking for a \$5 trillion tax cut. What I've said is I won't put in place a tax cut that adds to the deficit. That's part one. So there's no economist that can say Mitt Romney's tax plan adds \$5 trillion if I say I will not add to the deficit with my tax plan.

Number two, I will not reduce the share paid by high-income individuals. I know that you and your running mate keep saying that and I know it's a popular thing to say with a lot of people, but it's just not the case. Look, I've got five boys. I'm used to people saying something that's not always true, but just keep on repeating it and ultimately hoping I'll believe it. But that — that is not the case. All right? I will not reduce the taxes paid by high-income Americans.

And number three, I will not under any circumstances raise taxes on middle-income families. I will lower taxes on middle-income families. Now, you cite a study. There are six other studies that looked at the study you describe and say it's completely wrong. I saw a study that came out today that said you're going to raise taxes by \$3,000 to \$4,000 on middle-income families.

There are all these studies out there. But let's get at the bottom line. That is, I want to bring down rates. I want to bring the rates down, at the same time lower deductions and exemptions and credits and so forth, so we keep getting the revenue we need. And you'd think, well, then why lower the rates?

ROMNEY: And the reason is because small business pays that individual rate; 54 percent of America's workers work in businesses that are taxed not at the corporate tax rate, but at the individual tax rate. And if we lower that rate, they will be able to hire more people. For me, this is about jobs. This is about getting jobs for the American people.

(CROSSTALK)

LEHRER: That's where we started. Yeah.

Do you challenge what the governor just said about his own plan?

OBAMA: Well, for 18 months he's been running on this tax plan. And now, five weeks before the election, he's saying that his big, bold idea is, "Never mind."

And the fact is that if you are lowering the rates the way you described, Governor, then it is not possible to come up with enough deductions and loopholes that only affect high-income individuals to avoid either raising the deficit or burdening the middle class. It's — it's math. It's arithmetic.

Now, Governor Romney and I do share a deep interest in encouraging small-business growth. So at the same time that my tax plan has already lowered taxes for 98 percent of families, I also lowered taxes for small businesses 18 times. And what I want to do is continue the tax rates — the tax cuts that we put into place for small businesses and families.

But I have said that for incomes over \$250,000 a year, that we should go back to the rates that we had when Bill Clinton was president, when we created 23 million new jobs, went from deficit to surplus, and created a whole lot of millionaires to boot.

And the reason this is important is because by doing that, we cannot only reduce the

LEHRER: What is the difference...

deficit, we cannot only encourage job growth through small businesses, but we're also able to make the investments that are necessary in education or in energy.

OBAMA: And we do have a difference, though, when it comes to definitions of small business. Under — under my plan, 97 percent of small businesses would not see their income taxes go up. Governor Romney says, well, those top 3 percent, they're the job creators, they'd be burdened.

But under Governor Romney's definition, there are a whole bunch of millionaires and billionaires who are small businesses. Donald Trump is a small business. Now, I know Donald Trump doesn't like to think of himself as small anything, but — but that's how you define small businesses if you're getting business income.

And that kind of approach, I believe, will not grow our economy, because the only way to pay for it without either burdening the middle class or blowing up our deficit is to make drastic cuts in things like education, making sure that we are continuing to invest in basic science and research, all the things that are helping America grow. And I think that would be a mistake.

LEHRER: All right.

ROMNEY: Jim, let me just come back on that — on that point, which is these...

LEHRER: Just for the — just for record...

(CROSSTALK)

ROMNEY: ... the small businesses we're talking about...

LEHRER: Excuse me. Excuse me. Just so everybody understands, we're way over our first 15 minutes.

ROMNEY: It's fun, isn't it?

LEHRER: It's OK, it's great. No problem. Well, you all don't have — you don't have a problem, I don't have a problem, because we're still on the economy. We're going to come back to taxes. I want move on to the deficit and a lot of other things, too.

OK, but go ahead, sir.

ROMNEY: You bet. Well, President, you're — Mr. President, you're absolutely right, which is that, with regards to 97 percent of the businesses are not — not taxed at the 35 percent tax rate, they're taxed at a lower rate. But those businesses that are in the last 3 percent of businesses happen to employ half — half of all the people who work in small business. Those are the businesses that employ one-quarter of all the workers in America. And your plan is to take their tax rate from 35 percent to 40 percent.

Now, and — and I've talked to a guy who has a very small business. He's in the electronics business in — in St. Louis. He has four employees. He said he and his son calculated how much they pay in taxes, federal income tax, federal payroll tax, state income tax, state sales tax, state property tax, gasoline tax. It added up to well over 50 percent of what they earned. And your plan is to take the tax rate on successful small businesses from 35 percent to 40 percent. The National Federation of Independent Businesses has said that will cost 700,000 jobs.

I don't want to cost jobs. My priority is jobs. And so what I do is I bring down the tax rates, lower deductions and exemptions, the same idea behind Bowles-Simpson, by the way, get the rates down, lower deductions and exemptions, to create more jobs, because there's nothing better for getting us to a balanced budget than having more people working, earning more money, paying more taxes. That's by far the most effective and efficient way to get this budget balanced.

OBAMA: Jim, I — you may want to move onto another topic, but I — I would just say this to the American people. If you believe that we can cut taxes by \$5 trillion and add \$2 trillion in additional spending that the military is not asking for, \$7 trillion — just to give you a sense, over 10 years, that's more than our entire defense budget — and you think that by closing loopholes and deductions for the well-to-do, somehow you will not end up picking up the tab, then Governor Romney's plan may work for you.

But I think math, common sense, and our history shows us that's not a recipe for job growth. Look, we've tried this. We've tried both approaches. The approach that Governor Romney's talking about is the same sales pitch that was made in 2001 and 2003, and we ended up with the slowest job growth in 50 years, we ended up moving from surplus to deficits, and it all culminated in the worst financial crisis since the Great Depression.

OBAMA: Bill Clinton tried the approach that I'm talking about. We created 23 million new jobs. We went from deficit to surplus. And businesses did very well. So, in some ways, we've got some data on which approach is more likely to create jobs and opportunity for Americans and I believe that the economy works best when middle-class families are getting tax breaks so that they've got some money in their pockets, and those of us who have done extraordinarily well because of this magnificent country that we live in, that we can afford to do a little bit more to make sure we're not blowing up the deficit.

ROMNEY: Jim, the president began this segment, so I think I get the last word.

(CROSSTALK)

LEHRER: Well, you're going to get the first word in the next segment.

ROMNEY: All right. Well, but he gets the first word of that segment. I get the last word (inaudible) I hope. Let me just make this comment.

(CROSSTALK)

ROMNEY: I think first of all, let me — let me repeat — let me repeat what I said. I'm not in favor of a \$5 trillion tax cut. That's not my plan. My plan is not to put in place any tax cut that will add to the deficit. That's point one.

So you may keep referring to it as a \$5 trillion tax cut, but that's not my plan.

Number two, let's look at history. My plan is not like anything that's been tried before. My plan is to bring down rates, but also bring down deductions and exemptions and credits at the same time so the revenue stays in, but that we bring down rates to get more people working.

My priority is putting people back to work in America. They're suffering in this country. And we talk about evidence. Look at the evidence of the last four years. It's absolutely extraordinary. We've got 23 million people out of work or stopped looking for work in this country. It's just — it's — we've got — when the president took office, 32 million people on food stamps; 47 million on food stamps today; economic growth this year slower than last year, and last year slower than the year before.

Going forward with the status quo is not going to cut it for the American people who are struggling today.

LEHRER: All right. Let's talk — we're still on the economy. This is, theoretically now, a second segment still on the economy, and specifically on what to do about the federal deficit, the federal debt.

And the question, you each have two minutes on this, and Governor Romney, you — you go first because the president went first on segment one. And the question is this, what are the differences between the two of you as to how you would go about tackling the deficit problem in this country?

ROMNEY: Good. I'm glad you raised that, and it's a — it's a critical issue. I think it's not just an economic issue, I think it's a moral issue. I think it's, frankly, not moral for my generation to keep spending massively more than we take in, knowing those burdens are going to be passed on to the next generation and they're going to be paying the interest and the principal all their lives.

And the amount of debt we're adding, at a trillion a year, is simply not moral.

So how do we deal with it? Well, mathematically, there are three ways that you can cut a deficit. One, of course, is to raise taxes. Number two is to cut spending. And number three is to grow the economy, because if more people work in a growing economy, they're paying taxes, and you can get the job done that way.

The presidents would — president would prefer raising taxes. I understand. The problem with raising taxes is that it slows down the rate of growth. And you could never quite get the job done. I want to lower spending and encourage economic growth at the same time.

What things would I cut from spending? Well, first of all, I will eliminate all programs by this test, if they don't pass it: Is the program so critical it's worth borrowing money from China to pay for it? And if not, I'll get rid of it. Obamacare's on my list.

I apologize, Mr. President. I use that term with all respect, by the way.

OBAMA: I like it.

ROMNEY: Good. OK, good. So I'll get rid of that.

I'm sorry, Jim, I'm going to stop the subsidy to PBS. I'm going to stop other things. I like PBS, I love Big Bird. Actually like you, too. But I'm not going to — I'm not going to keep on spending money on things to borrow money from China to pay for. That's number one.

Number two, I'll take programs that are currently good programs but I think could be run more efficiently at the state level and send them to the state.

ROMNEY: Number three, I'll make government more efficient and to cut back the number of employees, combine some agencies and departments. My cutbacks will be done through attrition, by the way.

This is the approach we have to take to get America to a balanced budget.

The president said he'd cut the deficit in half. Unfortunately, he doubled it. Trillion-dollar deficits for the last four years. The president's put it in place as much public debt — almost

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as much debt held by the public as all prior presidents combined.

LEHRER: Mr. President, two minutes.

OBAMA: When I walked into the Oval Office, I had more than a trillion-dollar deficit greeting me. And we know where it came from: two wars that were paid for on a credit card; two tax cuts that were not paid for; and a whole bunch of programs that were not paid for; and then a massive economic crisis.

And despite that, what we've said is, yes, we had to take some initial emergency measures to make sure we didn't slip into a Great Depression, but what we've also said is, let's make sure that we are cutting out those things that are not helping us grow.

So 77 government programs, everything from aircrafts that the Air Force had ordered but weren't working very well, 18 government — 18 government programs for education that were well-intentioned, not weren't helping kids learn, we went after medical fraud in Medicare and Medicaid very aggressively, more aggressively than ever before, and have saved tens of billions of dollars, \$50 billion of waste taken out of the system.

And I worked with Democrats and Republicans to cut a trillion dollars out of our discretionary domestic budget. That's the largest cut in the discretionary domestic budget since Dwight Eisenhower.

Now, we all know that we've got to do more. And so I've put forward a specific \$4 trillion deficit reduction plan. It's on a website. You can look at all the numbers, what cuts we make and what revenue we raise.

And the way we do it is \$2.50 for every cut, we ask for \$1 of additional revenue, paid for, as I indicated earlier, by asking those of us who have done very well in this country to contribute a little bit more to reduce the deficit. Governor Romney earlier mentioned the Bowles-Simpson commission. Well, that's how the commission — bipartisan commission that talked about how we should move forward suggested we have to do it, in a balanced way with some revenue and some spending cuts. And this is a major difference that Governor Romney and I have.

Let — let me just finish their point, because you're looking for contrast. You know, when Governor Romney stood on a stage with other Republican candidates for the nomination and he was asked, would you take \$10 of spending cuts for just \$1 of revenue? And he said no.

Now, if you take such an unbalanced approach, then that means you are going to be gutting our investments in schools and education. It means that Governor Romney...

(CROSSTALK)

OBAMA: ... talked about Medicaid and how we could send it back to the states, but effectively this means a 30 percent cut in the primary program we help for seniors who are in nursing homes, for kids who are with disabilities.

LEHRER: Mr. President, I'm sorry.

OBAMA: And — and that is not a right strategy for us to move forward.

LEHRER: Way over the two minutes.

OBAMA: Sorry.

LEHRER: Governor, what about Simpson-Bowles? Do you support Simpson-Bowles?

ROMNEY: Simpson-Bowles, the president should have grabbed that.

LEHRER: No, I mean, do you support Simpson-Bowles?

ROMNEY: I have my own plan. It's not the same as Simpson-Bowles. But in my view, the president should have grabbed it. If you wanted to make some adjustments to it, take it, go to Congress, fight for it.

OBAMA: That's what we've done, made some adjustments to it, and we're putting it forward before Congress right now, a \$4 trillion plan...

ROMNEY: But you've been — but you've been president four years...

(CROSSTALK)

ROMNEY: You've been president four years. You said you'd cut the deficit in half. It's now four years later. We still have trillion-dollar deficits. The CBO says we'll have a trillion-dollar deficit each of the next four years. If you're re-elected, we'll get to a trillion-dollar debt.

ROMNEY: I mean, you have said before you'd cut the deficit in half. And this — I love this idea of \$4 trillion in cuts. You found \$4 trillion of ways to reduce or to get closer to a balanced budget, except we still show trillion-dollar deficits every year. That doesn't get the job done.

LEHRER: ...

Let me come back and say, why is it that I don't want to raise taxes? Why don't I want to raise taxes on people? And actually, you said it back in 2010. You said, "Look, I'm going to extend the tax policies that we have now; I'm not going to raise taxes on anyone, because when the economy is growing slow like this, when we're in recession, you shouldn't raise taxes on anyone."

Well, the economy is still growing slow. As a matter of fact, it's growing much more slowly now than when you made that statement. And so if you believe the same thing, you just don't want to raise taxes on people. And the reality is it's not just wealthy people — you mentioned Donald Trump. It's not just Donald Trump you're taxing. It's all those businesses that employ one-quarter of the workers in America; these small businesses that are taxed as individuals.

You raise taxes and you kill jobs. That's why the National Federation of Independent Businesses said your plan will kill 700,000 jobs. I don't want to kill jobs in this environment.

I'll make one more point.

(CROSSTALK)

LEHRER: (inaudible) answer the taxes thing for a moment.

ROMNEY: OK.

LEHRER: Mr. President?

OBAMA: Well, we've had this discussion before.

LEHRER: About the idea that in order to reduce the deficit, there has to be revenue in addition to cuts.

OBAMA: There has to be revenue in addition to cuts. Now, Governor Romney has ruled out revenue. He's ruled out revenue.

(CROSSTALK)

ROMNEY: Absolutely. (CROSSTALK)

ROMNEY: Look, the revenue I get is by more people working, getting higher pay, paying more taxes. That's how we get growth and how we balance the budget. But the idea of taxing people more, putting more people out of work, you'll never get there. You'll never balance the budget by raising taxes.

Spain — Spain spends 42 percent of their total economy on government. We're now spending 42 percent of our economy on government. I don't want to go down the path to Spain. I want to go down the path of growth that puts Americans to work with more money coming in because they're working.

LEHRER: But — but Mr. President, you're saying in order to — to get the job done, it's got to be balanced. You've got to have...

(CROSSTALK)

OBAMA: If — if we're serious, we've got to take a balanced, responsible approach. And by the way, this is not just when it comes to individual taxes. Let's talk about corporate taxes.

Now, I've identified areas where we can, right away, make a change that I believe would actually help the economy.

The oil industry gets \$4 billion a year in corporate welfare. Basically, they get deductions that those small businesses that Governor Romney refers to, they don't get.

Now, does anybody think that ExxonMobil needs some extra money, when they're making money every time you go to the pump? Why wouldn't we want to eliminate that? Why wouldn't we eliminate tax breaks for corporate jets? My attitude is, if you got a corporate jet, you can probably afford to pay full freight, not get a special break for it.

When it comes to corporate taxes, Governor Romney has said he wants to, in a revenue neutral way, close loopholes, deductions — he hasn't identified which ones they are — but that thereby bring down the corporate rate.

Well, I want to do the same thing, but I've actually identified how we can do that. And part of the way to do it is to not give tax breaks to companies that are shipping jobs overseas.

Right now, you can actually take a deduction for moving a plant overseas. I think most Americans would say that doesn't make sense. And all that raises revenue.

And so if we take a balanced approach, what that then allows us to do is also to help young people, the way we already have during my administration, make sure that they can afford to go to college.

OBAMA: It means that the teacher that I met in Las Vegas, a wonderful young lady, who describes to me — she's got 42 kids in her class. The first two weeks she's got them,

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some of them sitting on the floor until finally they get reassigned. They're using text books that are 10 years old.

That is not a recipe for growth. That's not how America was built. And so budgets reflect choices.

Ultimately, we're going to have to make some decisions. And if we're asking for no revenue, then that means that we've got to get rid of a whole bunch of stuff.

And the magnitude of the tax cuts that you're talking about, Governor, would end up resulting in severe hardship for people, but more importantly, would not help us grow.

As I indicated before, when you talk about shifting Medicaid to states, we're talking about potentially a 30 — a 30 percent cut in Medicaid over time.

Now, you know, that may not seem like a big deal when it just is, you know, numbers on a sheet of paper, but if we're talking about a family who's got an autistic kid and is depending on that Medicaid, that's a big problem.

And governors are creative. There's no doubt about it. But they're not creative enough to make up for 30 percent of revenue on something like Medicaid. What ends up happening is some people end up not getting help.

ROMNEY: Jim, let's — we've gone on a lot of topics there, and so it's going to take a minute to go from Medicaid to schools...

LEHRER: Come back to...

(CROSSTALK)

ROMNEY: ... to oil, to tax breaks, then companies going overseas. So let's go through them one by one.

First of all, the Department of Energy has said the tax break for oil companies is \$2.8 billion a year. And it's actually an accounting treatment, as you know, that's been in place for a hundred years. Now...

OBAMA: It's time to end it.

ROMNEY: And in one year, you provided \$90 billion in breaks to the green energy world.

Now, I like green energy as well, but that's about 50 years' worth of what oil and gas receives. And you say Exxon and Mobil. Actually, this \$2.8 billion goes largely to small companies, to drilling operators and so forth.

ROMNEY: But, you know, if we get that tax rate from 35 percent down to 25 percent, why that \$2.8 billion is on the table. Of course it's on the table. That's probably not going to survive you get that rate down to 25 percent.

But don't forget, you put \$90 billion, like 50 years' worth of breaks, into — into solar and wind, to Solyndra and Fisker and Tester and Ener1. I mean, I had a friend who said you don't just pick the winners and losers, you pick the losers, all right? So this — this is not — this is not the kind of policy you want to have if you want to get America energy secure.

The second topic, which is you said you get a deduction for taking a plant overseas. Look, I've been in business for 25 years. I have no idea what you're talking about. I maybe need to get a new accountant.

LEHRER: Let's...

ROMNEY: But — but the idea that you get a break for shipping jobs overseas is simply not the case.

(CROSSTALK)

ROMNEY: What we do have right now is a setting where I'd like to bring money from overseas back to this country.

And, finally, Medicaid to states? I'm not quite sure where that came in, except this, which is, I would like to take the Medicaid dollars that go to states and say to a state, you're going to get what you got last year, plus inflation, plus 1 percent, and then you're going to manage your care for your poor in the way you think best.

And I remember, as a governor, when this idea was floated by Tommy Thompson, the governors — Republican and Democrats — said, please let us do that. We can care for our own poor in so much better and more effective a way than having the federal government tell us how to care for our poor.

So — so let's state — one of the magnificent things about this country is the whole idea that states are the laboratories of democracy. Don't have the federal government tell everybody what kind of training programs they have to have and what kind of Medicaid they have to have. Let states do this.

And, by the way, if a state gets in trouble, well, we can step in and see if we can find a

LEHRER: Come back to...

way to help them.

LEHRER: Let's go.

ROMNEY: But — but the right — the right approach is one which relies on the brilliance of our people and states, not the federal government.

LEHRER: (inaudible) and we're going on — still on the economy, on another — but another part of it...

OBAMA: OK.

LEHRER: All right? All right. This is segment three, the economy. Entitlements. First — first answer goes to you, two minutes, Mr. President. Do you see a major difference between the two of you on Social Security?

OBAMA: You know, I suspect that, on Social Security, we've got a somewhat similar position. Social Security is structurally sound. It's going to have to be tweaked the way it was by Ronald Reagan and Speaker — Democratic Speaker Tip O'Neill. But it is — the basic structure is sound.

But — but I want to talk about the values behind Social Security and Medicare, and then talk about Medicare, because that's the big driver of our deficits right now.

You know, my grandmother — some of you know — helped to raise me. My grandparents did. My grandfather died a while back. My grandmother died three days before I was elected president. And she was fiercely independent. She worked her way up, only had a high school education, started as a secretary, ended up being the vice president of a local bank. And she ended up living alone by choice.

And the reason she could be independent was because of Social Security and Medicare. She had worked all her life, put in this money, and understood that there was a basic guarantee, a floor under which she could not go.

And that's the perspective I bring when I think about what's called entitlements. You know, the name itself implies some sense of dependency on the part of these folks. These are folks who've worked hard, like my grandmother, and there are millions of people out there who are counting on this.

OBAMA: So my approach is to say, how do we strengthen the system over the long term? And in Medicare, what we did was we said, we are going to have to bring down the costs if we're going to deal with our long-term deficits, but to do that, let's look where some of the money's going.

\$716 billion we were able to save from the Medicare program by no longer overpaying insurance companies by making sure that we weren't overpaying providers. And using that money, we were actually able to lower prescription drug costs for seniors by an average of \$600, and we were also able to make a — make a significant dent in providing them the kind of preventive care that will ultimately save money through the — throughout the system.

So the way for us to deal with Medicare in particular is to lower health care costs. When it comes to Social Security, as I said, you don't need a major structural change in order to make sure that Social Security is there for the future.

LEHRER: We'll follow up on this.

First, Governor Romney, you have two minutes on Social Security and entitlements.

ROMNEY: Well, Jim, our seniors depend on these programs, and I know anytime we talk about entitlements, people become concerned that something's going to happen that's going to change their life for the worse.

And the answer is neither the president nor I are proposing any changes for any current retirees or near retirees, either to Social Security or Medicare. So if you're 60 or around 60 or older, you don't need to listen any further.

But for younger people, we need to talk about what changes are going to be occurring. Oh, I just thought about one. And that is, in fact, I was wrong when I said the president isn't proposing any changes for current retirees. In fact he is on Medicare. On Social Security he's not.

But on Medicare, for current retirees, he's cutting \$716 billion from the program. Now, he says by not overpaying hospitals and providers. Actually just going to them and saying, "We're going to reduce the rates you get paid across the board, everybody's going to get a lower rate." That's not just going after places where there's abuse. That's saying we're cutting the rates. Some 15 percent of hospitals and nursing homes say they won't take anymore Medicare patients under that scenario.

We also have 50 percent of doctors who say they won't take more Medicare patients.

This — we have 4 million people on Medicare Advantage that will lose Medicare Advantage because of those \$716 billion in cuts. I can't understand how you can cut



to happen. They'll have at least two plans.

ROMNEY: And by the way, if the government can be as efficient as the private sector and offer premiums that are as low as the private sector, people will be happy to get traditional Medicare or they'll be able to get a private plan.

I know my own view is I'd rather have a private plan. I'd just assume not have the government telling me what kind of health care I get. I'd rather be able to have an insurance company. If I don't like them, I can get rid of them and find a different insurance company. But people make their own choice.

The other thing we have to do to save Medicare? We have to have the benefits high for those that are low income, but for higher income people, we're going to have to lower some of the benefits. We have to make sure this program is there for the long term. That's the plan that I've put forward.

And, by the way the idea came not even from Paul Ryan or — or Senator Wyden, who's the co-author of the bill with — with Paul Ryan in the Senate, but also it came from Bill — Bill Clinton's chief of staff. This is an idea that's been around a long time, which is saying, hey, let's see if we can't get competition into the Medicare world so that people can get the choice of different plans at lower cost, better quality. I believe in competition.

OBAMA: Jim, if I — if I can just respond very quickly, first of all, every study has shown that Medicare has lower administrative costs than private insurance does, which is why seniors are generally pretty happy with it.

And private insurers have to make a profit. Nothing wrong with that. That's what they do. And so you've got higher administrative costs, plus profit on top of that. And if you are going to save any money through what Governor Romney's proposing, what has to happen is, is that the money has to come from somewhere.

And when you move to a voucher system, you are putting seniors at the mercy of those insurance companies. And over time, if traditional Medicare has decayed or fallen apart, then they're stuck.

And this is the reason why AARP has said that your plan would weaken Medicare substantially. And that's why they were supportive of the approach that we took.

One last point I want to make. We do have to lower the cost of health care, not just in Medicare and Medicaid...

LEHRER: Talk about that in a minute.

OBAMA: ... but — but — but overall.

LEHRER: OK.

OBAMA: And so...

ROMNEY: That's — that's a big topic. Can we — can we stay on Medicare?

OBAMA: Is that a — is that a separate topic?

(CROSSTALK)

LEHRER: Yeah, we're going to — yeah, I want to get to it.

OBAMA: I'm sorry.

LEHRER: But all I want to do is go very quickly...

ROMNEY: Let's get back to Medicare.

LEHRER: ... before we leave the economy...

ROMNEY: Let's get back to Medicare.

(CROSSTALK)

ROMNEY: The president said that the government can provide the service at lower cost and without a profit.

LEHRER: All right.

ROMNEY: If that's the case, then it will always be the best product that people can purchase.

LEHRER: Wait a minute, Governor.

ROMNEY: But my experience — my experience the private sector typically is able to provide a better product at a lower cost.

LEHRER: All right. Can we — can the two of you agree that the voters have a choice — a clear choice between the two...

ROMNEY: Absolutely.

LEHRER: ... of you on Medicare?

ROMNEY: Absolutely.

OBAMA: Absolutely.

LEHRER: All right. So to finish quickly, briefly, on the economy, what is your view about the level of federal regulation of the economy right now? Is there too much? And in your case, Mr. President, is there — should there be more?

Beginning with you. This is not a new two-minute segment to start. And we'll go for a few minutes, and then we're going to go to health care, OK?

ROMNEY: Regulation is essential. You can't have a free market work if you don't have regulation. As a businessperson, I had to have — I need to know the regulations. I needed them there. You couldn't have people opening up banks in their — in their garage and making loans. I mean, you have to have regulations so that you can have an economy work. Every free economy has good regulation. At the same time, regulation can become excessive.

LEHRER: Is it excessive now, do you think?

ROMNEY: In some places, yes. Other places, no.

LEHRER: Like where?

(CROSSTALK)

ROMNEY: No, it can become out of date. And what's happened with some of the legislation that's been passed during the president's term, you've seen regulation become excessive, and it's hurt — it's hurt the economy. Let me give you an example.

Dodd-Frank was passed. And it includes within it a number of provisions that I think has some unintended consequences that are harmful to the economy. One is it designates a number of banks as too big to fail, and they're effectively guaranteed by the federal government. This is the biggest kiss that's been given to — to New York banks I've ever seen. This is an enormous boon for them. There've been 122 community and small banks have closed since Dodd-Frank.

So there's one example. Here's another. In Dodd-Frank...

LEHRER: Do you want to repeal Dodd-Frank?

ROMNEY: Well, I would repeal and replace it. We're not going to get rid of all regulation. You have to have regulation. And there are some parts of Dodd-Frank that make all the sense in the world. You need transparency, you need to have leverage limits for...

LEHRER: Well, here's a specific...

(CROSSTALK)

ROMNEY: But let's — let's mention — let me mention the other one. Let's talk...

(CROSSTALK)

LEHRER: No, let's not. Let's let him respond — let's let him respond to this specific on Dodd-Frank and what the governor just said.

OBAMA: I think this is a great example. The reason we have been in such an enormous economic crisis was prompted by reckless behavior across the board.

Now, it wasn't just on Wall Street. You had loan officers were — that were giving loans and mortgages that really shouldn't have been given, because the folks didn't qualify. You had people who were borrowing money to buy a house that they couldn't afford. You had credit agencies that were stamping these as A1 great investments when they weren't.

But you also had banks making money hand over fist, churning out products that the bankers themselves didn't even understand, in order to make big profits, but knowing that it made the entire system vulnerable.

So what did we do? We stepped in and had the toughest reforms on Wall Street since the 1930s. We said you've got — banks, you've got to raise your capital requirements. You can't engage in some of this risky behavior that is putting Main Street at risk. We're going to make sure that you've got to have a living will so — so we can know how you're going to wind things down if you make a bad bet so we don't have other taxpayer bailouts.

OBAMA: In the meantime, by the way, we also made sure that all the help that we provided those banks was paid back every single dime, with interest.

Now, Governor Romney has said he wants to repeal Dodd-Frank.

And, you know, I appreciate and it appears we've got some agreement that a marketplace

LEHRER: ... of you on Medicare?

to work has to have some regulation. But in the past, Governor Romney has said he just want to repeal Dodd- Frank, roll it back.

And so the question is: Does anybody out there think that the big problem we had is that there was too much oversight and regulation of Wall Street? Because if you do, then Governor Romney is your candidate. But that's not what I believe.

ROMNEY: Sorry, but that's just not — that's just not the facts. Look, we have to have regulation on Wall Street. That's why I'd have regulation. But I wouldn't designate five banks as too big to fail and give them a blank check. That's one of the unintended consequences of Dodd-Frank. It wasn't thought through properly. We need to get rid of that provision because it's killing regional and small banks. They're getting hurt.

Let me mention another regulation in Dodd-Frank. You say we were giving mortgages to people who weren't qualified. That's exactly right. It's one of the reasons for the great financial calamity we had. And so Dodd-Frank correctly says we need to have qualified mortgages, and if you give a mortgage that's not qualified, there are big penalties, except they didn't ever go on and define what a qualified mortgage was.

It's been two years. We don't know what a qualified mortgage is yet. So banks are reluctant to make loans, mortgages. Try and get a mortgage these days. It's hurt the housing market because Dodd-Frank didn't anticipate putting in place the kinds of regulations you have to have. It's not that Dodd-Frank always was wrong with too much regulation. Sometimes they didn't come out with a clear regulation.

I will make sure we don't hurt the functioning of our — of our marketplace and our business, because I want to bring back housing and get good jobs.

LEHRER: All right. I think we have another clear difference between the two of you. Now, let's move to health care where I know there is a clear difference, and that has to do with the Affordable Care Act, Obamacare. And it's a two-minute new — new segment, and that means two minutes each. And you go first, Governor Romney.

LEHRER: You want it repealed. You want the Affordable Care Act repealed. Why?

ROMNEY: I sure do. Well, in part, it comes, again, from my experience. You know, I was in New Hampshire. A woman came to me and she said, look, I can't afford insurance for myself or my son. I met a couple in Appleton, Wisconsin, and they said, we're thinking of dropping our insurance, we can't afford it.

And the number of small businesses I've gone to that are saying they're dropping insurance because they can't afford it, the cost of health care is just prohibitive. And — and we've got to deal with cost.

And, unfortunately, when — when — when you look at Obamacare, the Congressional Budget Office has said it will cost \$2,500 a year more than traditional insurance. So it's adding to cost. And as a matter of fact, when the president ran for office, he said that, by this year, he would have brought down the cost of insurance for each family by \$2,500 a family. Instead, it's gone up by that amount. So it's expensive. Expensive things hurt families. So that's one reason I don't want it.

Second reason, it cuts \$716 billion from Medicare to pay for it. I want to put that money back in Medicare for our seniors.

Number three, it puts in place an unelected board that's going to tell people ultimately what kind of treatments they can have. I don't like that idea.

Fourth, there was a survey done of small businesses across the country, said, what's been the effect of Obamacare on your hiring plans? And three-quarters of them said it makes us less likely to hire people. I just don't know how the president could have come into office, facing 23 million people out of work, rising unemployment, an economic crisis at the — at the kitchen table, and spend his energy and passion for two years fighting for Obamacare instead of fighting for jobs for the American people. It has killed jobs.

And the best course for health care is to do what we did in my state: craft a plan at the state level that fits the needs of the state. And then let's focus on getting the costs down for people, rather than raising it with the \$2,500 additional premium.

LEHRER: Mr. President, the argument against repeal? OBAMA: Well, four years ago, when I was running for office, I was traveling around and having those same conversations that Governor Romney talks about. And it wasn't just that small businesses were seeing costs skyrocket and they couldn't get affordable coverage even if they wanted to provide it to their employees. It wasn't just that this was the biggest driver of our federal deficit, our overall health care costs, but it was families who were worried about going bankrupt if they got sick, millions of families, all across the country.

If they had a pre-existing condition, they might not be able to get coverage at all. If they did have coverage, insurance companies might impose an arbitrary limit. And so as a consequence, they're paying their premiums, somebody gets really sick, lo and behold, they don't have enough money to pay the bills, because the insurance companies say that they've hit the limit.

So we did work on this, alongside working on jobs, because this is part of making sure

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that middle-class families are secure in this country.

And let me tell you exactly what Obamacare did. Number one, if you've got health insurance, it doesn't mean a government takeover. You keep your own insurance. You keep your own doctor. But it does say insurance companies can't jerk you around. They can't impose arbitrary lifetime limits. They have to let you keep your kid on their insurance — your insurance plan until you're 26 years old. And it also says that you're going to have to get rebates if insurance companies are spending more on administrative costs and profits than they are on actual care.

Number two, if you don't have health insurance, we're essentially setting up a group plan that allows you to benefit from group rates that are typically 18 percent lower than if you're out there trying to get insurance on the individual market.

Now, the last point I'd make before...

LEHRER: Two minutes — two minutes is up, sir.

OBAMA: No, I think — I had five seconds before you interrupted me, was ...

(LAUGHTER)

... the irony is that we've seen this model work really well in Massachusetts, because Governor Romney did a good thing, working with Democrats in the state to set up what is essentially the identical model and as a consequence people are covered there. It hasn't destroyed jobs. And as a consequence, we now have a system in which we have the opportunity to start bringing down costs, as opposed to just leaving millions of people out in the cold.

LEHRER: Your five seconds went away a long time ago.

All right, Governor. Governor, tell — tell the president directly why you think what he just said is wrong about Obamacare?

ROMNEY: Well, I did with my first statement.

(CROSSTALK)

ROMNEY: First of all, I like the way we did it in Massachusetts. I like the fact that in my state, we had Republicans and Democrats come together and work together. What you did instead was to push through a plan without a single Republican vote. As a matter of fact, when Massachusetts did something quite extraordinary — elected a Republican senator to stop Obamacare, you pushed it through anyway.

So entirely on a partisan basis, instead of bringing America together and having a discussion on this important topic, you pushed through something that you and Nancy Pelosi and Harry Reid thought was the best answer and drove it through.

What we did in a legislature 87 percent Democrat, we worked together; 200 legislators in my legislature, only two voted against the plan by the time we were finished. What were some differences? We didn't raise taxes. You've raised them by \$1 trillion under Obamacare. We didn't cut Medicare. Of course, we don't have Medicare, but we didn't cut Medicare by \$716 billion.

ROMNEY: We didn't put in place a board that can tell people ultimately what treatments they're going to receive. We didn't also do something that I think a number of people across this country recognize, which is put — put people in a position where they're going to lose the insurance they had and they wanted.

Right now, the CBO says up to 20 million people will lose their insurance as Obamacare goes into effect next year. And likewise, a study by McKinsey and Company of American businesses said 30 percent of them are anticipating dropping people from coverage.

So for those reasons, for the tax, for Medicare, for this board, and for people losing their insurance, this is why the American people don't want Medicare — don't want Obamacare. It's why Republicans said, do not do this, and the Republicans had — had the plan. They put a plan out. They put out a plan, a bipartisan plan. It was swept aside.

I think something this big, this important has to be done on a bipartisan basis. And we have to have a president who can reach across the aisle and fashion important legislation with the input from both parties.

OBAMA: Governor Romney said this has to be done on a bipartisan basis. This was a bipartisan idea. In fact, it was a Republican idea. And Governor Romney at the beginning of this debate wrote and said what we did in Massachusetts could be a model for the nation.

And I agree that the Democratic legislators in Massachusetts might have given some advice to Republicans in Congress about how to cooperate, but the fact of the matter is, we used the same advisers, and they say it's the same plan.

It — when Governor Romney talks about this board, for example, unelected board that we've created, what this is, is a group of health care experts, doctors, et cetera, to figure

out, how can we reduce the cost of care in the system overall?

Because there — there are two ways of dealing with our health care crisis. One is to simply leave a whole bunch of people uninsured and let them fend for themselves, to let businesses figure out how long they can continue to pay premiums until finally they just give up, and their workers are no longer getting insured, and that's been the trend line.

Or, alternatively, we can figure out, how do we make the cost of care more effective? And there are ways of doing it.

So at Cleveland Clinic, one of the best health care systems in the world, they actually provide great care cheaper than average. And the reason they do is because they do some smart things. They — they say, if a patient's coming in, let's get all the doctors together at once, do one test instead of having the patient run around with 10 tests. Let's make sure that we're providing preventive care so we're catching the onset of something like diabetes. Let's — let's pay providers on the basis of performance as opposed to on the basis of how many procedures they've — they've engaged in.

Now, so what this board does is basically identifies best practices and says, let's use the purchasing power of Medicare and Medicaid to help to institutionalize all these good things that we do.

And the fact of the matter is that, when Obamacare is fully implemented, we're going to be in a position to show that costs are going down. And over the last two years, health care premiums have gone up — it's true — but they've gone up slower than any time in the last 50 years. So we're already beginning to see progress. In the meantime, folks out there with insurance, you're already getting a rebate.

Let me make one last point. Governor Romney says, we should replace it, I'm just going to repeal it, but — but we can replace it with something. But the problem is, he hasn't described what exactly we'd replace it with, other than saying we're going to leave it to the states.

OBAMA: But the fact of the matter is that some of the prescriptions that he's offered, like letting you buy insurance across state lines, there's no indication that that somehow is going to help somebody who's got a pre-existing condition be able to finally buy insurance. In fact, it's estimated that by repealing Obamacare, you're looking at 50 million people losing health insurance...

LEHRER: Let's...

OBAMA: ... at a time when it's vitally important.

LEHRER: Let's let the governor explain what you would do...

ROMNEY: Well...

LEHRER: ... if Obamacare is repealed. How would you replace it?

(CROSSTALK)

ROMNEY: Well, actually it's — it's — it's a lengthy description. But, number one, preexisting conditions are covered under my plan. Number two, young people are able to stay on their family plan. That's already offered in the private marketplace. You don't have to have the government mandate that for that to occur.

But let's come back to something the president and I agree on, which is the key task we have in health care is to get the cost down so it's more affordable for families. And then he has as a model for doing that a board of people at the government, an unelected board, appointed board, who are going to decide what kind of treatment you ought to have.

(CROSSTALK)

ROMNEY: In my opinion, the government is not effective in — in bringing down the cost of almost anything. As a matter of fact, free people and free enterprises trying to find ways to do things better are able to be more effective in bringing down the cost than the government will ever be.

Your example of the Cleveland Clinic is my case in point, along with several others I could describe.

This is the private market. These are small — these are enterprises competing with each other, learning how to do better and better jobs. I used to consult to businesses — excuse me, to hospitals and to health care providers. I was astonished at the creativity and innovation that exists in the American people.

In order to bring the cost of health care down, we don't need to have a board of 15 people telling us what kinds of treatments we should have. We instead need to put insurance plans, providers, hospitals, doctors on target such that they have an incentive, as you say, performance pay, for doing an excellent job, for keeping costs down, and that's happening. Innermountain Healthcare does it superbly well, Mayo Clinic is doing it superbly well, Cleveland Clinic, others.

LEHRER: ...



you as to how you view the mission of the federal government?

OBAMA: Well, I definitely think there are differences.

LEHRER: And do you — yeah.

OBAMA: The first role of the federal government is to keep the American people safe. That's its most basic function. And as commander-in-chief, that is something that I've worked on and thought about every single day that I've been in the Oval Office.

But I also believe that government has the capacity, the federal government has the capacity to help open up opportunity and create ladders of opportunity and to create frameworks where the American people can succeed.

Look, the genius of America is the free enterprise system and freedom and the fact that people can go out there and start a business, work on an idea, make their own decisions.

OBAMA: But as Abraham Lincoln understood, there are also some things we do better together. So, in the middle of the Civil War, Abraham Lincoln said, let's help to finance the Transcontinental Railroad, let's start the National Academy of Sciences, let's start land grant colleges, because we want to give these gateways of opportunity for all Americans, because if all Americans are getting opportunity, we're all going to be better off. That doesn't restrict people's freedom. That enhances it.

And so what I've tried to do as president is to apply those same principles.

And when it comes to education what I've said is we've got to reform schools that are not working. We use something called Race to the Top. Wasn't a top-down approach, Governor. What we've said is to states, we'll give you more money if you initiate reforms. And as a consequence, you had 46 states around the country who have made a real difference.

But what I've also said is let's hire another 100,000 math and science teachers to make sure we maintain our technological lead and our people are skilled and able to succeed. And hard-pressed states right now can't all do that. In fact we've seen layoffs of hundreds of thousands of teachers over the last several years, and Governor Romney doesn't think we need more teachers. I do, because I think that that is the kind of investment where the federal government can help.

It can't do it all, but it can make a difference. And as a consequence we'll have a better trained workforce and that will create jobs because companies want to locate in places where we've got a skilled workforce.

LEHRER: Two minutes, Governor, on the role of government. Your view?

ROMNEY: Well, first, I love great schools. Massachusetts, our schools are ranked number one of all 50 states. And the key to great schools, great teachers.

So I reject the idea that I don't believe in great teachers or more teachers. Every school district, every state should make that decision on their own.

The role of government: Look behind us. The Constitution and the Declaration of Independence. The role of government is to promote and protect the principles of those documents.

ROMNEY: First, life and liberty. We have a responsibility to protect the lives and liberties of our people, and that means a military second to none. I do not believe in cutting our military. I believe in maintaining the strength of America's military.

Second, in that line that says we are endowed by our creator with our rights, I believe we must maintain our commitment to religious tolerance and freedom in this country. That statement also says that we are endowed by our creator with the right to pursue happiness as we choose. I interpret that as, one, making sure that those people who are less fortunate and can't care for themselves are cared by — by one another.

We're a nation that believes that we're all children of the same god and we care for those that have difficulties, those that are elderly and have problems and challenges, those that are disabled. We care for them. And we — we look for discovery and innovation, all these things desired out of the American heart to provide the pursuit of happiness for our citizens.

But we also believe in maintaining for individuals the right to pursue their dreams and not to have the government substitute itself for the rights of free individuals. And what we're seeing right now is, in my view, a — a trickle-down government approach, which has government thinking it can do a better job than free people pursuing their dreams. And it's not working.

And the proof of that is 23 million people out of work. The proof of that is 1 out of 6 people in poverty. The proof of that is we've gone from 32 million on food stamps to 47 million on food stamps. The proof of that is that 50 percent of college graduates this year can't find work.

LEHRER: All right.

ROMNEY: We know that the path we're taking is not working. It's time for a new path.

LEHRER: All right. Let's go through some specifics in terms of what — how each of you views the role of government. How do — education. Does the federal government have a responsibility to improve the quality of public education in America?

ROMNEY: Well, the primary responsibility for education is — is, of course, at the state and local level. But the federal government also can play a very important role. And I — and I agree with Secretary Arne Duncan, he's — some ideas he's put forward on Race to the Top, not all of them, but some of them I agree with and — and congratulate him for pursuing that. The federal government can get local and — and state schools to do a better job.

My own view, by the way, is I've added to that. I happen to believe, I want the kids that are getting federal dollars from IDEA or Title I — these are disabled kids or — or — or poor kids or — or lower-income kids, rather, I want them to be able to go to the school of their choice.

So all federal funds, instead of going to the — to the state or to the school district, I'd have go, if you will, follow the child and let the parent and the child decide where to send their — their — their student.

LEHRER: How do you see the federal government's responsibility to, as I say, to improve the quality of public education in this country?

OBAMA: Well, as I've indicated, I think that it has a significant role to play. Through our Race to the Top program, we've worked with Republican and Democratic governors to initiate major reforms, and they're having an impact right now.

LEHRER: Do you think you have a difference with your views and — and those of Governor Romney on — about education and the federal government?

OBAMA: You know, this is where budgets matter, because budgets reflect choices. So when Governor Romney indicates that he wants to cut taxes and potentially benefit to kids like me and him, and to pay for it we're having to initiate significant cuts in federal support for education, that makes a difference.

You know, his — his running mate, Congressman Ryan, put forward a budget that reflects many of the principles that Governor Romney's talked about. And it wasn't very detailed. This seems to be a trend. But — but what it did do is to — if you extrapolated how much money we're talking about, you'd look at cutting the education budget by up to 20 percent.

OBAMA: When it comes to community colleges, we are seeing great work done out there all over the country because we have the opportunity to train people for jobs that exist right now. And one of the things I suspect Governor Romney and I probably agree on is getting businesses to work with community colleges so that they're setting up their training programs...

LEHRER: Do you — do you agree, Governor?

OBAMA: Let me just finish the point.

(CROSSTALK)

OBAMA: The — where they're partnering so that they're designing training programs. And people who are going through them know that there's a job waiting for them if they complete it. That makes a big difference, but that requires some federal support.

Let me just say one final example. When it comes to making college affordable, whether it's two-year or four-year, one of the things that I did as president was we were sending \$60 billion to banks and lenders as middlemen for the student loan program, even though the loans were guaranteed. So there was no risk for the banks or the lenders, but they were taking billions out of the system.

And we said, "Why not cut out the middleman?" And as a consequence, what we've been able to do is to provide millions more students assistance, lower or keep low interest rates on student loans. And this is an example of where our priorities make a difference.

Governor Romney, I genuinely believe cares about education, but when he tells a student that, you know, "you should borrow money from your parents to go to college," you know, that indicates the degree to which, you know, there may not be as much of a focus on the fact that folks like myself, folks like Michelle, kids probably who attend University of Denver, just don't have that option.

And for us to be able to make sure that they've got that opportunity and they can walk through that door, that is vitally important not just to those kids. It's how we're going to grow this economy over the long term.

LEHRER: We're running out of time, gentlemen.

(CROSSTALK) LEHRER: Governor?

ROMNEY: Mr. President, Mr. President, you're entitled as the president to your own

airplane and to your own house, but not to your own facts. All right, I'm not going to cut education funding. I don't have any plan to cut education funding and — and grants that go to people going to college. I'm planning on (inaudible) to grow. So I'm not planning on making changes there.

But you make a very good point, which is that the place you put your money just makes a pretty clear indication of where your heart is. You put \$90 billion into — into green jobs. And I — look, I'm all in favor of green energy. \$90 billion, that would have — that would have hired 2 million teachers. \$90 billion.

And these businesses, many of them have gone out of business, I think about half of them, of the ones have been invested in have gone out of business. A number of them happened to be owned by people who were contributors to your campaigns.

Look, the right course for America's government, we were talking about the role of government, is not to become the economic player, picking winners and losers, telling people what kind of health treatment they can receive, taking over the health care system that has existed in this country for a long, long time and has produced the best health records in the world.

The right answer for government is say, How do we make the private sector become more efficient and more effective? How do we get schools to be more competitive? Let's grade them. I propose we grade our schools so parents know which schools are succeeding and failing, so they can take their child to a — to a school that he's being more successful.

I don't want to cut our commitment to education. I wanted to make it more effective and efficient. And by the way, I've had that experience. I don't just talk about it. I've been there. Massachusetts schools are ranked number one in the nation. This is not because I didn't have commitment to education. It's because I care about education for all of our kids.

LEHRER: All right, gentlemen...

(CROSSTALK)

LEHRER: Excuse me (inaudible). Excuse me, sir. We've got — we've got — barely have three minutes left. I'm not going to grade the two of you and say your answers have been too long or I've done a poor job.

OBAMA: You've done a great job.

LEHRER: Oh, well, no. But the fact is government — the role of government and governing, we've lost a pod in other words. So we only have three — three minutes left in the — in the debate before we go to your closing statements. And so I want to ask finally here, and remember, we've got three minutes total time here — and the question is this. Many of the legislative functions of the federal government right now are in a state of paralysis as a result of partisan gridlock. If elected, in your case, if re-elected, in your case, what would you do about that?

Governor?

ROMNEY: Jim, I had the great experience — it didn't seem like it at the time — of being elected in a state where my legislature was 87 percent Democrat. And that meant I figured out from day one I had to get along and I had to work across the aisle to get anything done. We drove our schools to be number one in the nation. We cut taxes 19 times.

LEHRER: But what would you do as president?

ROMNEY: We — as president, I will sit on day one — actually, the day after I get elected — I'll sit down with leaders — the Democratic leaders, as well as Republican leaders, and continue — as we did in my state — we met every Monday for a couple hours, talked about the issues and the challenges in the — in the — in our state in that case. We have to work on a collaborative basis, not because we're going to compromise our principle, but because there's common ground.

And the challenges America faces right now — look, the reason I'm in this race is there are people that are really hurting today in this country. And we face — this deficit could crush the future generations. What's happening in the Middle East, there are developments around the world that are of real concern.

LEHRER: All right.

ROMNEY: And Republicans and Democrats both love America. But we need to have leadership — leadership in Washington that will actually bring people together and get the job done and could not care less if — if it's a Republican or a Democrat. I've done it before. I'll do it again.

LEHRER: Mr. President?

OBAMA: Well, first of all, I think Governor Romney's going to have a busy first day, because he's also going to repeal Obamacare, which will not be very popular among Democrats as you're sitting down with them.

(LAUGHTER)

LEHRER: All right, gentlemen...

But, look, my philosophy has been, I will take ideas from anybody, Democrat or Republican, as long as they're advancing the cause of making middle-class families stronger and giving ladders of opportunity to the middle class. That's how we cut taxes for middle-class families and small businesses. That's how we cut a trillion dollars of spending that wasn't advancing that cause. That's how we signed three trade deals into law that are helping us to double our exports and sell more American products around the world. That's how we repealed "don't ask/don't tell." That's how we ended the war in Iraq, as I promised, and that's how we're going to wind down the war in Afghanistan. That's how we went after Al Qaida and bin Laden.

So we've — we've seen progress even under Republican control of the House of Representatives. But, ultimately, part of being principled, part of being a leader is, A, being able to describe exactly what it is that you intend to do, not just saying, "I'll sit down," but you have to have a plan.

Number two, what's important is occasionally you've got to say no, to — to — folks both in your own party and in the other party. And, you know, yes, have we had some fights between me and the Republicans when — when they fought back against us reining in the excesses of Wall Street? Absolutely, because that was a fight that needed to be had.

When — when we were fighting about whether or not we were going to make sure that Americans had more security with their health insurance and they said no, yes, that was a fight that we needed to have.

LEHRER: All right

OBAMA: And so part of leadership and governing is both saying what it is that you are for, but also being willing to say no to some things. And I've got to tell you, Governor Romney, when it comes to his own party during the course of this campaign, has not displayed that willingness to say no to some of the more extreme parts of his party.

LEHRER: That brings us to closing statements. It was a coin toss. Governor Romney, you won the toss and you elected to go last, so you have a closing two minutes, Mr. President.

OBAMA: Well, Jim, I want to thank you, and I want to thank Governor Romney, because I think was a terrific debate, and I very much appreciate it. And I want to thank the University of Denver.

You know, four years ago, we were going through a major crisis. And yet my faith and confidence in the American future is undiminished. And the reason is because of its people, because of the woman I met in North Carolina who decided at 55 to go back to school because she wanted to inspire her daughter and now has a job from that new training that she's gotten; because a company in Minnesota who was willing to give up salaries and perks for their executives to make sure that they didn't lay off workers during a recession.

The auto workers that you meet in Toledo or Detroit take such pride in building the best cars in the world, not just because of a paycheck, but because it gives them that sense of pride, that they're helping to build America. And so the question now is how do we build on those strengths. And everything that I've tried to do, and everything that I'm now proposing for the next four years in terms of improving our education system or developing American energy or making sure that we're closing loopholes for companies that are shipping jobs overseas and focusing on small businesses and companies that are creating jobs here in the United States, or closing our deficit in a responsible, balanced way that allows us to invest in our future.

All those things are designed to make sure that the American people, their genius, their grit, their determination, is — is channeled and — and they have an opportunity to succeed. And everybody's getting a fair shot. And everybody's getting a fair share — everybody's doing a fair share, and everybody's playing by the same rules.

You know, four years ago, I said that I'm not a perfect man and I wouldn't be a perfect president. And that's probably a promise that Governor Romney thinks I've kept. But I also promised that I'd fight every single day on behalf of the American people, the middle class, and all those who were striving to get into the middle class. I've kept that promise and if you'll vote for me, then I promise I'll fight just as hard in a second term.

LEHRER: Governor Romney, your two-minute closing.

ROMNEY: Thank you, Jim, and Mr. President. And thank you for tuning in this evening.

This is a — this is an important election and I'm concerned about America. I'm concerned about the direction America has been taking over the last four years.

I — I know this is bigger than an election about the two of us as individuals. It's bigger than our respective parties. It's an election about the course of America. What kind of America do you want to have for yourself and for your children.

And there really are two very different paths that we began speaking about this evening, and over the course of this month we're going to have two more presidential debates and a vice presidential debate. We're talk about those two paths.

But they lead in very different directions. And it's not just looking to our words that you

LEHRER: All right

have to take in evidence of where they go. You can look at the record.

There's no question in my mind that if the president were to be reelected you'll continue to see a middle-class squeeze with incomes going down and prices going up.

I'll get incomes up again.

You'll see chronic unemployment. We've had 43 straight months with unemployment above 8 percent.

If I'm president I will create — help create 12 million new jobs in this country with rising incomes.

If the president's reelected, Obamacare will be fully installed. In my view that's going to mean a whole different way of life for people who counted on the insurance plan they had in the past. Many will lose it. You're going to see health premiums go up by some \$2,500 per family.

If I'm elected we won't have Obama. We'll put in place the kind of principles that I put in place in my own state and allow each state to craft their own programs to get people insured and we'll focus on getting the cost of health care down.

If the president were to be reelected you're going to see a \$716 billion cut to Medicare. You'll have 4 million people who will lose Medicare Advantage. You'll have hospital and providers that'll no longer accept Medicare patients.

I'll restore that \$716 billion to Medicare.

And finally, military. The president's reelected you'll see dramatic cuts to our military. The secretary of defense has said these would be even devastating.

I will not cut our commitment to our military. I will keep America strong and get America's middle class working again.

Thank you, Jim.

LEHRER: Thank you, Governor.

Thank you, Mr. President.

The next debate will be the vice presidential event on Thursday, October 11th at Centre College in Danville, Kentucky. For now, from the University of Denver, I'm Jim Lehrer. Thank you, and good night.

(APPLAUSE)

END

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LEHRER: Thank you, Governor.

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## Former Democratic Party Leader Paul Kirk Backs Obama (Update1)

By Jonathan D. Salant - May 02, 2008

May 2 (Bloomberg) -- Former Democratic National Committee Chairman Paul Kirk formally pledged his superdelegate vote to Barack Obama today, the second former party leader to back the Illinois senator in two days.

Obama ``has and will continue to expand the electorate beyond the traditional Democratic Party base and bring young and new and independent voters to the Democratic banner in November," Kirk, a party superdelegate from Massachusetts, said in a statement released by Obama's campaign.

Kirk previously expressed support for Obama, though he hadn't publicly pledged to cast his vote for him at the party's national convention when the nominee will be chosen.

He and former party leader Joe Andrew, who switched his support from Hillary Clinton to Obama yesterday, are among the 795 superdelegates who will have decisive votes at the nominating convention. The endorsements come just days before the May 6 Democratic primaries in North Carolina and Indiana.

Clinton's campaign released a statement saying Kirk has been an Obama backer since at least February and the announcement was intended ``to divert attention from their recent troubles."

The campaign also released a letter from seven former Democratic chairmen who are supporting Clinton and are urging other superdelegates to do the same.

'Much at Stake'

``We encourage you to continue to fully consider Hillary Clinton and the fact that she is qualified and accomplished," the letter said. ``Too much is at stake for us not to consider deeply the choice we must make for our party and our country."

While New York Senator Clinton still leads Obama in backing from superdelegates -- the party leaders and officeholders who aren't bound by results of primaries and caucuses -- Obama has been catching up since the March 4 round of primaries. With Kirk's declaration, Clinton has 273 superdelegate endorsements to Obama's 250, based on lists provided by the campaigns and public announcements.

Obama leads among pledged delegates, 1,488 to 1,334, according to an unofficial count by the Associated Press. A candidate needs 2,025 to get the nomination.

To contact the reporter on this story: Jonathan D. Salant in Washington at jsalant@bloomberg.net.

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**Exhibit 61**

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September 25, 2009

## Former Kennedy Aide Is Appointed to Fill His Senate Seat

By **ABBY GOODNOUGH** and **CARL HULSE**

BOSTON — Gov. Deval Patrick today named Paul G. Kirk Jr., a former aide and longtime confidant of the late Senator Edward M. Kennedy, to Mr. Kennedy's seat.

"He shares the sense of service that so distinguished Senator Kennedy," Governor Patrick, a Democrat, said at a news conference in Boston. "The interests of the commonwealth have never been more vital or at stake in the Congress today."

Mr. Kirk, a longtime friend of the Kennedy family and onetime special assistant to Senator Kennedy, is scheduled to take the oath of office on Friday and serve until a special election on Jan. 19; he has pledged not to run in the election. He said on Thursday that he would keep the late senator's staff in place.

Mr. Kirk was the favorite of the late senator's wife and two sons, as well as some officials in President Obama's administration, according to people familiar with the matter. The president issued a statement after the appointment was announced.

"I am pleased that Massachusetts will have its full representation in the United States Senate in the coming months, as important issues such as health care, financial reform and energy will be debated," Mr. Obama said. "Paul Kirk is a distinguished leader whose long collaboration with Senator Kennedy makes him an excellent interim choice to carry on his work until the voters make their choice in January."

On Wednesday, the Massachusetts legislature gave final approval to a bill that allowed Mr. Patrick to name an interim successor to Mr. Kennedy, who died of brain cancer last month.

Late Thursday morning, however, the Massachusetts Republican Party filed a motion in Suffolk Superior Court requesting an injunction to keep the appointment of Mr. Kirk from taking effect. In its motion, party leaders argue that it was unconstitutional for the governor to have put the new law into effect immediately.

"It's in the judge's hands now," said Tarah Donoghue, communications director for the state party.

A person close to the Kennedy family said Wednesday that Mr. Kennedy's widow, Victoria Reggie Kennedy, and his sons, Edward M. Kennedy Jr. and Representative Patrick J. Kennedy of Rhode Island, had urged Mr. Patrick to appoint Mr. Kirk, who worked for Senator Kennedy in the 1970s, and later served as chairman of the Democratic National Committee.

Mr. Kirk said he was grateful the family chose him "to be a voice and a vote" for the late senator's causes.

"This appointment is a profound honor, and I accept it with sincere humility," he said.

The other Massachusetts senator, John Kerry, said at the news conference that Mr. Kirk would be a “superb steward” for Mr. Kennedy’s seat.

Mr. Kirk, 71, is chairman of the John F. Kennedy Library Foundation in Boston. Several friends and associates described him as low-key and laconic, a shrewd political strategist who could have run for office himself but decided he preferred a behind-the-scenes role.

Democrats in Washington and Massachusetts expressed enthusiasm for his candidacy, saying Mr. Kirk was familiar enough with Capitol Hill and Mr. Kennedy’s priorities to seamlessly pick up where the senator left off.

Just before Mr. Kennedy died on Aug. 25, he asked the legislature to change the law and let Mr. Patrick appoint a temporary replacement for his seat until a special election could be held. That election is scheduled for Jan. 19.

Although Mr. Kennedy did not mention it when he made the request, it is clear that Democratic votes will be crucial to passing the contentious health care legislation making its way through Congress. He was a champion of overhauling the health care system, but with his seat empty, Democrats in the Senate are not assured the 60 votes necessary to pass the legislation.

Under the State Constitution, Mr. Patrick has to take the unusual step of declaring the law an emergency to make it effective immediately; most new laws cannot take effect for 90 days.

State Republicans said they might try to block an emergency declaration, and indeed late Wednesday, several House Republicans asked Mr. Patrick to seek an advisory opinion from the state’s Supreme Judicial Court on whether he had the authority to make such a declaration. But William F. Galvin, the secretary of state, said there were no grounds for a legal challenge. “This procedure goes on all the time,” said Mr. Galvin, a Democrat.

Mr. Patrick returned to Boston on Wednesday after several weeks recuperating from hip surgery at his home in western Massachusetts.

In addition to Mr. Kirk, Mr. Patrick was said to have considered Michael S. Dukakis, a former governor and 1988 presidential nominee, and Evelyn Murphy, a former lieutenant governor under Mr. Dukakis.

Republicans, who have fought the succession bill, tried again Wednesday to stall or quash it. Governors here had the power to fill Senate vacancies until 2004, when the Democratic majority in the legislature changed the law to require a special election. Democrats worried then that if Senator John Kerry were elected president, Gov. Mitt Romney, a Republican, would appoint a Republican.

The Constitution states that to put a new law into effect without delay, a governor must write a letter to the secretary of state declaring that “the immediate preservation of the public peace, health, safety or convenience” requires it.

As an alternative, the legislature can declare a new law an emergency, but it requires a two-thirds vote. Both chambers tried but failed Wednesday to muster enough votes for such a declaration.

*Abby Goodnough reported from Boston, and Carl Hulse from Washington. Katie Zezima contributed reporting from Boston, and Maria Newman from New York.*

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# Exhibit 62

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**EXPERT REPORT OF DR. CLIFFORD YOUNG**

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## BACKGROUND

1. I am President of Ipsos' Public Affairs practice in the United States, and also lead Ipsos' global election polling and political risk practice. I have over a decade of experience in public opinion polling and forecasting. I work with a wide variety of corporate, government, media, and political clients, and am the spokesperson for Ipsos Public Affairs in the United States. I also currently oversee Ipsos' U.S. public opinion polling for Thomson Reuters.

2. I earned my BA from the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign (Magna Cum Laude, Phi Beta Kappa) and completed my graduate work at the University of Chicago (MA and PhD in Sociology with a concentration in statistics and public opinion). I also trained as a survey statistician at the University of Michigan and in political psychology at Stanford. I am an adjunct professor at Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies and an instructor at Columbia University School of International and Public Affairs, where I teach courses on public opinion, reputation management, election polling, and political risk. I have written and presented extensively in the fields of public opinion, election polling, election forecasting, and survey methodology.

3. In my time at Ipsos Public Affairs U.S., I have worked on a variety of projects for federal government, private sector, and global clients including: the U.S. Department of State, Thomson Reuters, Booz Allen Hamilton, Inbev, the National Intelligence Council, the Eurasia Group, and the British Council, among others. Before coming to Ipsos Public Affairs North America, I was Managing Director of Ipsos Public Affairs Brazil where I started the practice for Ipsos and established it as the leading public opinion research firm in Brazil. In this capacity, my primary responsibilities included project and staff management, sample design, questionnaire

design (qualitative and quantitative), data analysis, report writing, sales, client servicing, product and service development, and ensuring the profitability of the company.

4. My expertise includes political and public opinion polling, and I have polled on over 80 elections around the world. The elections I have researched include the 2012 U.S. presidential election, 25 state-level races for the U.S. midterms in 2010; the Nigerian presidential and gubernatorial elections in 2011; the federal and parliamentary elections in Canada in 2011; the Russian presidential elections in 2012; the Egyptian and Kuwaiti parliamentary elections in 2011/2012; the Venezuelan presidential elections in 2012 and 2013; the 2014 Brazilian presidential elections; and the 2014 U.S. mid-term elections. Trained in survey sampling and survey methods design, I have also led more than 100 full public opinion sample designs and post-survey analytics in the following countries: Mexico, Argentina, Bolivia, Peru, Ecuador, Colombia, Venezuela, Chile, South Africa, Russia, India, Indonesia, China, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Turkey, Palestine, China, Lebanon, United Arab Emirates, Iraq, Afghanistan, Canada, United Kingdom, France, Spain, Italy, Nigeria, Mozambique, Angola, Guinea Bissau, and New Caledonia. I am a frequent writer, analyst, and commentator on elections, communication, and public opinion.

## SCOPE OF REPORT

5. The Commission on Presidential Debates ("CPD") sponsors presidential debates held before the general election. The CPD has established three criteria to govern who is included in the debates: 1) the candidate must fulfill the constitutional requirements to be president, 2) the candidate must have ballot access in sufficient states to win a majority of the electoral college, and 3) the candidate must average a vote share of at least 15% in five public polls in September of the presidential election year.

6. I have been tasked with investigating the 15% vote share threshold established by the CPD. This expert report examines two different subjects: First, it addresses the relationship between this 15% vote share threshold and candidate name recognition through an analysis of public polling data from multiple sources over the last twenty-two years. The discussion of that subject begins at paragraph 7. Second, it addresses polling error in three-way races with independent candidates. The discussion of that subject begins at paragraph 33.

**CORRELATION BETWEEN NAME RECOGNITION  
AND VOTE SHARE IN THE ELECTORAL CONTEXT**

**SUMMARY**

7. In opinion research there is an adage, "you have to be known to be liked." The aggregated data shows that this adage holds true in all domains: the public sector, the private sector, and politics. In particular, it holds true for presidential candidates where, generally speaking, vote share is predicated on favorability which is in turn predicated on knowing who a candidate is. Or to put it another way, a candidate is first known, then liked, then supported.

8. In order for a candidate to achieve the CPD's 15% vote share threshold, that candidate must be known by a significant number of people. In layman's terms, the question that this part of the report addresses is what percentage of American voters needs to know who a candidate is before 15% of them are willing to vote for that candidate. In polling, the percentage of people who know a candidate is referred to as name recognition. Another way to phrase the question, then, is what level of name recognition does a candidate need to achieve in order to reach 15% vote share.

9. There is, of course, no uniform answer to this question that holds true across all candidates and all elections. Multiple factors, many of them beyond a candidate's control, influence a candidate's vote share. But that does not mean the answer to this question is entirely unknowable. For a candidate unaffiliated with the two major parties, some level of name recognition is necessary for a candidate to achieve 15% vote share. One would expect that the requisite level of name recognition is higher than 15%, since it is unlikely that 100% of people with knowledge of a candidate would be inclined to vote for that candidate. The question is whether it is possible to estimate, on average, the minimum amount of name recognition such an

unaffiliated candidate would need to achieve in order to expect to be able to claim a 15% vote share.

10. My examination of public opinion trends yields such an estimate. The data show that there is a positive correlation between name recognition and vote share. While multiple factors influence vote share, this correlation enables me to model the relationship between name recognition and vote share. Presidential polling data from the past 22 years demonstrate that on average, an independent candidate must achieve a minimum of 60% name recognition, and likely 80%, in order to obtain 15% vote share.

#### ACADEMIC AND THEORETIC BASIS

11. This analysis is based on extensive foundational research from the cognitive psychology and attitudinal formation literature. These scientific studies outline the thought process that leads to opinions and behaviors. The fundamental model is that an individual has to know something exists before he/she can hold an opinion about it. Once that recognition is established, an individual can evaluate the subject and form positive or negative associations with it. The individual then is able to form his/her own position toward the subject. With his/her attitude formed, the individual then is equipped to act. (Ajzen 1991; Campbell & Keller 2003; Zaller 1992). This attitudinal formation process applies to decisions on voting for presidential candidates: voters first learn of the existence of a candidate, then develop some sort of favorable opinion towards the candidate, and that opinion leads them to vote for that candidate. (Abramowitz 1975; Prior 2007).

## DATA SOURCES AND METHODS

12. The public opinion data used in this report is sourced from major public opinion research organizations including Gallup, Reuters/Ipsos, Opinion Research Corporation, Pew Research Center, Bloomberg, Associated Press-GfK, ABC News, NBC News, CBS News and others. These opinion research organizations include most of the major media public opinion pollsters and include many of the organizations relied upon by the CPD. The data was collected from multiple “polling aggregators” including Polling Report, Pollster.com, the Roper Center, and Real Clear Politics which provide central clearinghouses for polling research. The data set is made up of over 800 separate observations – that is 800 instances of poll results measuring both the name recognition and vote share of the same individual candidate – from the 1992, 1996, 2000, 2004, 2008, and 2012 presidential elections.

- a. The public opinion data cited in this analysis samples several different portions of the American population. These include **all Americans** (all American adults), **registered voters** (Americans who are registered to vote), **likely voters** (Americans who, based on a variety of criteria, are considered likely to vote in the upcoming election), **Democratic voters** (Americans who identify as Democrats), and **Republican voters** (Americans who identify as Republicans).
- b. On name recognition questions, this analysis includes samples of all Americans, registered voters and likely voters.
- c. On primary election ballot questions, the sample is almost always either Democratic or Republican voters (depending on the partisan identification of the candidate).

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- d. General election ballot questions most commonly use samples of registered or likely voters. However, in earlier time periods, samples of all Americans are also present.

13. The public opinion poll data in this report is analyzed using regression analysis.

Regression analysis is a statistical analysis technique that allows the user to determine correlation between variables, i.e. to determine if change observed in one variable is related to change seen in another variable. This report uses regression analysis to examine the relationship between our variables: name recognition and vote share. Regression analysis contains four analytic concepts cited in this report, “variables”, an “r square”, a “regression equation”, and “linear vs. non-linear (logarithmic) line fits”.

- a. Most simply a **variable** is an object of interest, ideally expressed in some sort of *mathematic form*. In this report poll results for name recognition and vote share are variables. In research, variables are often referred to as “dependent” or “independent”. **Independent** variables (also referred to as explanatory variables) represent the inputs or causes in an experiment or model. The **dependent** variable (also referred to as a response variable) represents the output or effect. In this report, name recognition is the independent variable while vote share is the dependent variable.
- b. The **r square** is a measure of how well data “fits” together, that is how much of the variation in one variable is explained by observations of another variable. R square ( $R^2$ ) is measured on a 0 to 1 scale where 1 indicates a perfect fit with 100% of the variance in the dependent variable explained by the independent variable,

and 0 would indicate that there is no correlation between the variables. Thus, the higher the  $R^2$ , the more reliably predictive the model is.

- c. The **regression equation** is a mathematical expression of the relationship between two variables. It is expressed as “ $y = bx + e$ ” where  $y$  is the dependent variable,  $x$  is the independent variable,  $b$  is the parameter (how the relationship between independent and dependent is modified) and  $e$  is the error term (the average of what is not predicted).
- d. Standard regression analysis posits a fixed relationship between the variables being investigated; that is for the entire range of possible responses the change in the independent variable is associated with the same magnitude of change in the dependent variable. This fixed relationship is referred to as a **linear** regression. However, non-linear relationships exist and in many cases provide better explanatory power. A **non-linear** relationship indicates that the magnitude of the relationship between the independent and dependent variables are not fixed across all values and can change in some mathematically derived equation. In a non-linear relationship you have concepts such as “diminishing returns”.

14. This analysis is based on understanding the general trends in public opinion data.

It is designed to explain the hypothetical “average” presidential candidate. As such it is built from looking at data on many different candidates over many different election cycles and not at any one individual’s experience. As with any statistical analysis, it is possible to pick individual cases that may be outliers in the context of this model (like Ross Perot in 1992). However, these cases do not invalidate the macro-level analysis in this report, as this analysis includes that experience and all others in developing the model.

## TERMINOLOGY

15. "Public opinion" is a term used to simplify the discussion of the aggregated views and opinions of a particular population. In modern use, public opinion most frequently refers to public opinion polls or samples of the public that are meant to represent the opinion of the entire population. The rest of this report will use the terms public opinion and polls interchangeably to mean these public opinion polls.

16. "Name recognition" refers to the percentage of the population that is aware of a particular individual, organization or event as measured in public opinion polls. Name recognition is most often ascertained through the use of direct questions such as "have you ever heard of any of the following people...". Name recognition is also often extrapolated as part of other questions (such as familiarity or favorability) that have multiple response options where one option includes "I have never heard of this." In this case, the other answer categories are jointly thought of as representing the percentage of people who are aware of the person in question. Both versions of name recognition questions, the direct and the extrapolated, return similar results.

a. The term "familiarity" is often used interchangeably with name recognition.

However, in public opinion research, familiarity refers to a specific condition. It is the percentage of the population that both recognizes a subject (i.e. name recognition) and possesses some level of deeper knowledge or understanding about that subject. While familiarity is a useful and important indicator, it is not central to this report.

17. "Favorability" is the measure of the percentage of the population that voices positive opinions about a subject. Favorability is most often measured through the use of a direct

question with a Likert scale (scale with two symmetrical poles) response set. Favorability questions generally resemble the construction, “based on all of your knowledge or experiences, are you generally favorable or unfavorable towards X or do you have no opinion? Is that strongly favorable/unfavorable or somewhat favorable/unfavorable?”

18. “Vote share”, also, frequently called horse race or ballot questions, refers to the percentage of votes a candidate would get in a hypothetical election matchup presented by the poll. Vote share questions are commonly asked like the following, “if the election for president were held today, whom would you vote for candidate X or candidate Y?” Late in the election cycle vote share questions only include the individuals still running for the particular office, often with candidates who have dropped out and perennial or third-party contenders excluded. Earlier in the election cycle, vote share questions are often asked as a series of match-ups using a broad list of actual and potential candidates.

- a. Vote share questions are often divided into “general election” and “primary election” ballot questions. **Primary** election ballot questions are restricted to candidates competing within a particular party’s primary election contest, i.e. only the Democrats or Republicans competing for their respective parties’ nomination.
- b. **General** election ballot questions are the two-way (occasionally three-way) vote share questions matching the hypothetical or actual final party nominees for the office. Most often this is represented by a single Democratic candidate vs. a single Republican candidate.

19. In public opinion research on political issues, name recognition, familiarity, favorability, and vote share are frequently measured for major candidates for public office – especially for presidential candidates. However, the set of candidates included for measurement

is determined by the individual pollsters so the candidate set can and does frequently change over the course of an election cycle. This analysis aggregates the findings from multiple polls and multiple different pollsters to try to capture the broadest set of candidates possible and minimize the effects of variation in any one poll.

### ASSUMPTIONS

20. The opinion formation process for presidential candidates is a very compressed affair. The election campaign season condenses this process into at most two years and often a much shorter time period as candidates are introduced to the public, become familiar figures and ultimately win or lose. The dynamic of the election season introduces a number of complications into the opinion formation process:

- a. A successful campaign is predicated on increasing a candidate's name recognition and vote share. As a consequence, candidates generally have stronger name recognition scores later in the election cycle than earlier.
- b. Additionally, the main purpose of an election is to narrow a larger field of candidates to a single election winner. This means, on average, that observations from later in the electoral cycle will include fewer candidates as the other candidates have lost elections, run out of money, or ended candidacies for other reasons.
- c. Taking "a" and "b" together, the presidential election cycle can be typified into two periods, an **early** period where there are numerous candidates with (widely) divergent levels of name recognition and vote share, and a **late** period where there are few candidates that are mostly well known by the public. In this analysis we are categorizing **early** as before the first caucus in Iowa and **late** as after the

primary elections begin. The dividing line does not neatly coincide with a drop in the number of candidates, as there may still be numerous candidates at the time of the first primary election. But candidates are generally better known by the start of the primaries, and in subsequent weeks and months the number of candidates competing in the primaries typically decreases.

- d. The goal of this report is not to proclaim that name recognition is the only factor affecting candidate vote share. Many other factors including fundraising, candidate positioning, election results, and idiosyncratic events also exert influence over the course of the election. However, these other factors can be minimized, to an extent, by looking at the early time period when candidates are just establishing their name recognition. If they “have to be known to be liked,” they also have to be known for these other factors to take an effect as well.

21. In American electoral politics there is a strong ‘party halo effect’ where no matter who the candidates representing the Republican and Democratic parties might be, they garner a minimum vote share in the general election ballot from being associated with a party. This ultimately complicates any analysis because a virtual unknown who runs on the Republican or Democratic ticket can poll a hefty general election vote share, independent of name recognition and timing. This effect can be seen in polls from the early primary period when pollsters test hypothetical general election matchups. These hypothetical matchups can include Democratic and Republican candidates who are not yet well known. For instance, Herman Cain in June 2011 was only known to 48% of Republicans and had a primary election vote share of 7% but had a general election vote share of 34%. Another example is Mike Huckabee in September 2007, who was only known to 50% of Republicans and had a primary vote share of 4%, but his general

election vote share was 36%. Voters will be induced to express a preference for one candidate, even not knowing who he or she is, because he or she is affiliated with one of the two major parties. When included in the data analyzed, this effect tends to lower the name recognition necessary to achieve 15% vote share. Candidates unaffiliated with the major parties (often referred to as “independent” candidates in this report), however, do not benefit from this effect. (Bartels 1988; Prior 2006; Kam & Zechmeister 2013).

22. This ‘party halo effect’ only occurs in polling of general election matchups. In primary election polling, all the candidates have the same partisan identification and therefore people are not primed to express a preference for a candidate merely by virtue of his or her party affiliation. Accordingly, this party halo effect can be controlled by focusing on primary election matchups.

23. Constructing a model of the relationship between name recognition and vote share calls for some decisions about how to organize the data. Particularly, we must make decisions about looking at data from the **early** vs. **late** time periods, using **primary** vs. **general** election vote share numbers, and if the relationship is **linear** or **non-linear**.

- a. An **all elections** model involves looking at all observations across both the **early** and **late** time periods and using both the **primary** and **general** election vote share questions in a single model. This model allows us to say if the relationship between name recognition and vote share exists even in the face of complicating variables like party effects and fundraising advantages. However this model will not present the clearest view of the relationship between name recognition and vote share because of the other variables.

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- b. An **all primary** model uses all the primary election vote share questions across both the early and late time periods. This model reduces the effect of party halos in the data and includes the entire time series of observations of primary vote share. However, it contains multiple late election observations where the candidates' name recognition is at or above 90% and exhibits limited variation. As such, these late cases mute some of the relationship between name recognition and vote share.
  - c. The **early primary** analytical model examines primary election data from the early time period. This approach allows for the clearest view of the relationship between name recognition and vote share. Specifically, it reduces the impact of party halos and provides multiple observations of candidates with significantly varying levels of name recognition and vote share.

### FINDINGS

24. The first step of the analysis of attitude formation is examining the relationship between name recognition and vote share. The direct correlation between name recognition and vote share varies based upon the assumptions built into the model. However all models point to a need for significant levels of name recognition – in excess of 60% of the American public – before a vote share of 15% can be reached. Various models are presented below:

25. **All Elections Model** (early and late observations of both primary and general election ballot questions, non-linear): Observations from both presidential election types across all time periods introduce a number of other variables that limit the predictive power of name recognition on its own. In this model the  $R^2$  relationship is 0.41, a moderate to low level of

correlation. Under this model, a candidate would need to have 70% name recognition in order to reach the 15% vote share.

26. While this gives us a “real world” sense of the relationship between name recognition and vote share, because of the inclusion of late and general election observations, it includes a potentially wide variety of un-accounted for variables depicted by the low  $R^2$ . These variables include potential areas like partisan effects, the effect of fundraising, the impact of news events and primary election results. This conforms to an intuitive understanding of politics; later in the election the polls focus on two candidates who are universally known among likely voters, and thus changes in vote share are likely to be unrelated to changes in name recognition. A model that more clearly represents the conditions faced by an independent candidate in reaching 15% vote share would remove the effects of partisan halos and is present in the all primary model.

27. **All Primary Model** (early and late observations in primary elections, non-linear): Observations from all time periods of the primary election (before and after the elections begin) show a similar trend to the all election model. However, by removing the general election observations this model minimizes the effects of partisan identification on vote share and has a commensurate increase in predictive power. The all primary model has a  $R^2$  of 0.56, a moderately strong correlation. Under this model, a candidate would need to have 80% name recognition in order to reach the 15% vote share.

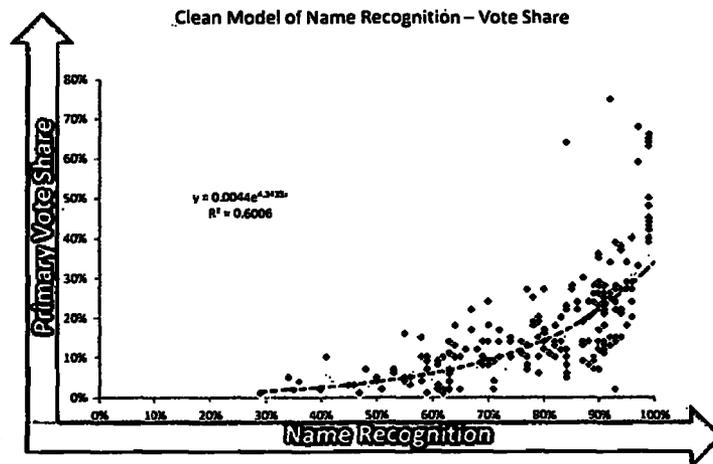
28. This model presents a clearer depiction of the conditions that an independent candidate would experience by minimizing the impact of party halo effect in the dataset. However, this model is still encumbered by the effects of the primary elections winnowing down the field of candidates and leaving the best known, highest vote share individuals. The best

simulation of the conditions for an independent presidential candidate would remove the effects of the primary elections by looking at the early time period – before vote share begins to collapse into the single ultimate winner.

29. **Earl Primary Model** (primary election data from early time period, non-linear):

This model presents a clear picture of the relationship between name recognition and vote share in conditions where partisan effects are minimal, elections have not begun to winnow the field and there is large variation among the range of possible name identification levels. This model suggests that the relationship between name recognition and vote share is non-linear; that name recognition has increasing value as a candidate nears the top of the scale. That is, a candidate has to reach a certain critical mass of recognition before their electoral support really begins to take off.

30. This model predicts about 60% of the variation in vote share ( $R^2$  of 0.6) and suggests that a candidate needs name recognition above 80% to reach a 15% vote share threshold.



31. Further models are listed in Appendix 1.

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## CONCLUSIONS

32. All things being equal, independent presidential candidates need to be recognized before they have the opportunity to earn votes. The models presented here suggest that in ideal circumstances – ones that might not exist in a typical election – a typical candidate needs to be recognized by at least 80% of the public before he or she can reach a vote share of 15%.

Alternate scenarios modify this name recognition intercept but in all cases the typical candidate needs to be recognized by more than 60% of the public before he or she can reach a vote share of 15%.

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**POLL ERROR IN THREE-WAY RACES  
WITH INDEPENDENT CANDIDATES**

**SUMMARY**

33. In this section of the report, I ask two central questions. First, is election polling conducted in three-way races more error prone than in two-way races? Second, given a particular level of error, what is the probability of a false negative when a candidate is just above the 15% threshold at the date of the poll?

34. To answer these questions, I will first examine the extant theoretical literature on poll (or survey) error.<sup>1</sup> I then will describe the data and methods employed for the analysis. I finally will examine over 300 observations from 16 competitive three-way gubernatorial races over the past fifteen years. I benchmark my analysis against 40 two-way gubernatorial races and 6 presidential races. I do not focus exclusively on presidential races in this report given the relative lack of polling observations for competitive three-way races.

35. In my analysis, we find that three-way races are more error prone than two-way races and that such error rates are especially onerous for candidates at the cusp of the CPD's 15% threshold. Depending on the specific conditions, the probability of such a candidate being falsely excluded from the debate by the CPD 15% threshold ranges from 37% to 41%.

**ACADEMIC AND THEORETIC BASIS**

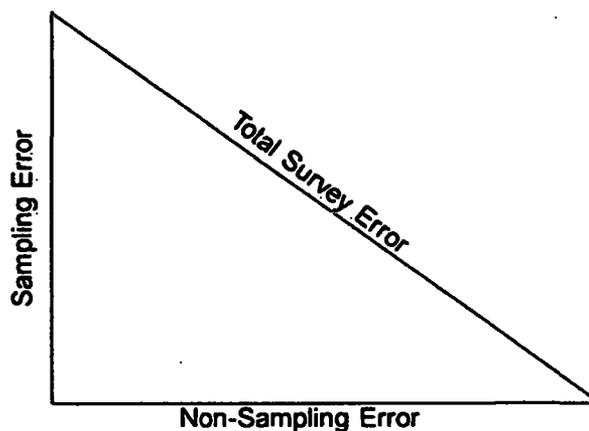
36. Opinion research polls are subject to two broad classes of error: 1) sampling error – or margin of error – and 2) non-sampling error. Non-sampling error includes three sub-types: 1) coverage bias, 2) nonresponse bias, and 3) measurement error. (Groves 1989 and Weisberg 2005). Coverage bias occurs when the poll sample is systematically different from the population

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<sup>1</sup> Throughout this exhibit, I use poll and survey interchangeably.

of interest. An example would be excluding poor nonwhites from the survey sample or using incorrect assumptions about the makeup of the electorate on Election Day. Nonresponse bias occurs when those people who respond to a poll are systematically different from those who do not. Measurement error includes different families of error ranging from interview bias, to question and questionnaire bias, to issue saliency for the respondent.

37. These two classes of error – sampling and non-sampling – are typically thought of as orthogonal (or unrelated) and together are referred to as total survey error and depicted by the triangle below. The central focus of pollsters and survey researchers is to minimize such error both at the survey design stage as well as the post-survey stage through weighting and other statistical calibration methods.

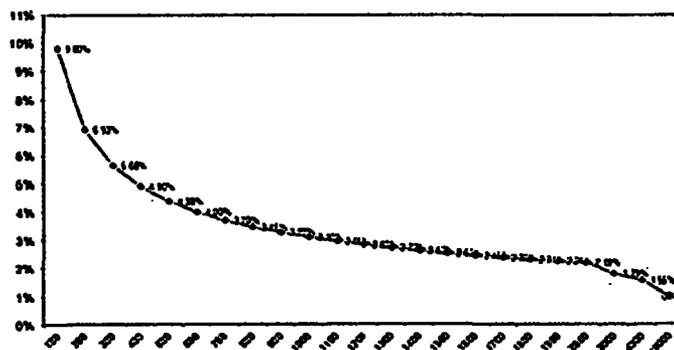


38. Sampling error, typically referred to as the margin of error (MOE), is a function of the square root of the sample size. Specifically, a MOE with a 95 % confidence interval can be depicted mathematically as the following where “n” is the size of the sample:

$$MoE = \pm \frac{0.98}{\sqrt{n}}$$

39. Perhaps the easiest way to visualize a MOE is showing it in graphical form. Here a sample size of 400 has a margin of error of +/- 4.9%; while one of 10,000 has a MOE of +/- 0.95% (see graph below).

40. The MOE on a poll of 400 can be interpreted in the following way: 95 times out of 100 the population parameter (let's say actual vote share for Obama) is within +/- 4.9% percent of the



sample estimate. So, if we have a poll with Obama at 45% vote share, the true population value ranges somewhere between 40.1% and 49.9%. However, one out of twenty times the poll estimate might be completely outside the MOE's range. (Lynn Vavreck, New York Times).

41. To reduce such error, pollsters increase their sample size to the extent possible. This is easier said than done, given the high cost per interview. As such, in the U.S., the simple 'rule of thumb' is that a nationally representative poll should have around 1,000 interviews with a MOE of +/- 3.1%, which is a reasonable cost versus error compromise. For state and local level polling, the industry standard varies from 400 to 800 interviews with a MOE ranging between +/- 4.9% to +/- 3.5% given greater cost-sensitivities

42. To gain analytical robustness, many election analysts and forecasters aggregate multiple polls from multiple firms to reduce poll estimate uncertainty (Young 2014; Jackman 2005). In effect, poll aggregation is an approach to minimize the MOE. Nate Silver, among other election forecasters, employed this technique during the U.S. 2012 presidential election to good effect. Given the volume of publically available polls, the standard 3.1% MOE for a typical

1,000 interview poll can be significantly reduced by aggregating it with other polls. Take the last day of the U.S. presidential election as an example. By aggregating all polls on that day, the total sample size comes to over 13,000 interviews with a corresponding MOE of +/-0.9%.

43. Election polling can suffer from all types of non-sampling error. In my experience, election polls are especially vulnerable to coverage bias and specific kinds of measurement error associated with low levels of election salience among voters as well as strategic voting. The empirical evidence and election literature support my opinion. (See Traugott and Wlezien 2008; Blumenthau 2012; Linzer 2013; Jackman 2005). Let me explain each in greater detail:

- a. First, the central challenge of any survey researcher is to ensure that the poll sample represents the population of interest, or, in technical terms, to minimize coverage bias. This task is especially challenging for the pollster who *a priori* does not know exactly who, or what population, will show up on election day. To minimize such uncertainty, pollsters often employ “likely voter models” to predict the profile of voters who will actually vote (for an overview see Young and Bricker 2013).
- b. For the typical U.S. general election, only about 65% of registered voters show up on election day. Those who show up on election day are usually quite different from those who do not.
- c. Likely voter models can take on many forms. But most of them predict future behavior based on past behavior. Whether the past behavior metric is taken directly from the survey as a stated behavioral response or from external data sources, such as the Census Bureau Current Population Survey, or voter files,

pollsters use them to predict a given respondent's likelihood to vote based upon said information.

- d. Such methods work well in stable political environments but break down when underlying realities change either from an attitudinal or demographic standpoint. Case in point is in the 2012 U.S. presidential elections. The Romney campaign believed that he would win until the final moments. Why? They believed that the 2008 election actually was an aberration and that the electorate would revert back to the *status quo ante*: more white, affluent, and older. The problem with their assumption was that the U.S. electorate had shifted demographically, becoming less white, younger, and poorer.
- e. The same can be said in Italy in the 2013 parliamentary elections. The polls as a class got the election wrong because they underestimated voter discontent and, consequently, support for the comedian candidate *Grillo (the Cricket)*. He was, in practice, a 'protest' vote for disillusioned people fed up with the system who also were not habitual voters but who on this occasion came out to vote *en masse*. The polls assumed that the electorate would be the same as in years past. Ultimately likely voter models can and do often break down. This, in turn, can increase *coverage bias*—where the poll's sample systematically differs from the relevant population—and thereby reduce poll accuracy.
- f. Second, election polls especially suffer from two specific types of measurement error: (1) *election salience* among voters at the time of the poll and (2) *strategic voting* decisions at the time of the vote which are at odds with poll responses.

- g. On point one, the research literature and experience show that the farther a poll is out from election day, the more error prone it will be. (Wlezien and Erikson (2007; Holbrooke 1996; Popkin 1994). Many explanations exist, but the most common one relates to *diminished election salience* among voters at the time of the poll. Put differently, at the early stages of the electoral cycle, people are not paying attention to the candidates and issues.
- h. In this context, a disinterested voter population is also prone to the vagaries of events, e.g. party conventions, which have a momentary impact but diminish in effect, over time, as voters forget.
- i. Pollsters can measure election saliency in a number of different ways. First, often pollsters employ a simple question, such as ‘are you paying attention to the election’. They also use candidate familiarity as a proxy for greater (or lesser) voter attention and election saliency. Whatever the measure though, voters typically only start paying particular attention close to election day. In my experience, this window varies from one day to several months before election day depending on the specific circumstances.
- j. In sum, polls are more variable when they are conducted at length from election day. The average voter is worried about more relevant “bread and butter” and ‘quality of life” issues than politics and elections. And, as such, it is not until quite close to the election that voters begin to pay attention and hence their responses are more considered and polls more accurate.
- k. Multi-candidate races have an added element of complication because voters often engage in what political scientists call *strategic voting*. (See Abramson et al.

1992; Burden 2005; Cox 1998; Riker 1976; Schaffner et. al. 2001). Strategic voting can take on two forms. First, voters might initially state a preference for a third-party or unaffiliated candidate but, on election day, go with a candidate that has a higher probability of victory. In this case, the poll would overstate the outsider or third-party and unaffiliated candidate vote share. Alternatively, voters might actually opt for a candidate at the time of voting for no other reason than to 'send a message' as a protest vote. The two forms of measurement error cited above can and do increase poll error as it relates to the final vote tally.

### **DATA SOURCES AND METHODS**

44. Returning to the two research questions, is election opinion polling conducted in three-way races more error prone than in two-way races? And with a particular level of error, what is the probability of a false negative where a candidate just above the 15% threshold would be excluded from the debates?

45. To answer my two questions, I use data sourced from public opinion research organizations. This includes data from 95 firms, over 1,000 polls and approximately 2,500 observations.

- a. This includes polling firms such as CNN, USA Today, Ipsos, SurveyUSA, Field Poll, Gallup, Braun Research, Field Research Corp., Public Policy Polling, Quinnipiac, and state-level university and newspaper polls including, Brown University, Southeastern Louisiana University, Minnesota Public Radio, Los Angeles Times, Portland Tribune, Suffolk University, and others. These opinion research organization include most of the major media public opinion pollsters and include many of the same organizations relied upon by the CPD.

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- b. The data set includes observations from gubernatorial elections both with and without prominent third party candidates or unaffiliated candidates in over 40 states between 1998 and 2013.
- c. The data comes from multiple "polling aggregators" including Polling Report, Pollster.com, U.S. Election Atlas, and Real Clear Politics, which provide central clearinghouses for polling research.

46. To analyze error in election polling, I employ an often used and widely-accepted measure of poll accuracy or error, known as the Average Absolute Difference (AAD). (Mitofsky, 1998).

47. The AAD is a simple difference measure which takes (1) the absolute difference between the actual results on election day for a given candidate minus the polled vote share for that same candidate and then (2) takes the average of each absolute candidate difference.

48. An example would be a simple two-way race. To demonstrate the logic, I include two scenarios: scenario 1 with an AAD of zero (0) and scenario 2 with an AAD of 2.

	Actual Election	Poll Result	AAD	Poll Result	AAD
Candidate A	45%	45%	0	47%	-2
Candidate B	55%	55%	0	53%	-2
Total	100%	100%	0	100%	2

49. The AAD can also be depicted mathematically as:

$$ADD = (\sum |AR_i - PR_i|) / c$$

where AR is the actual election result for candidate i; PR is the poll result for candidate i ; and c is the number of candidates in a given race.

50. The AAD can be looked at as a measure that combines sampling and non-sampling error. Here pollsters will typically evaluate whether the AAD for their given poll falls

within the MOE of the poll. An AAD equal to the MOE of a poll can be thought of as having no, or minimal, non-sampling error. Alternatively, pollsters typically treat a poll with an AAD larger than the MOE as one having some form of non-sampling error.

51. Additionally, forecasters who are aggregating polls will assess whether their estimate falls within AAD of the aggregated sample size. Again, the market will assess an AAD smaller or equal to the MOE positively, and an AAD larger than the MOE negatively. At its core, the polling profession understands that MOE is a function of sample size (n) and hence cost constraints, while non-sampling error can and should be minimized via best practices and optimal pre- and post-survey design.

#### **FINDINGS: AVERAGE ABSOLUTE DIFFERENCE**

52. To assess the error in two-way versus three-way races, I employ the AAD in gubernatorial races given the relative paucity of three-way races at the presidential level

53. I find that, in two-way gubernatorial races, the AAD increases the more distant from election day the poll is conducted (see table 1 below). Specifically, the analysis shows that the AAD one week out is 3.58% – approximately equivalent to the MOE for a “gold standard” survey sample of 1000 (3.1%). In contrast, the AAD is 9% a year out from the election. Two months before election day – the approximate period when the CPD is reviewing polling – the AAD for two-way races is 5.5%.

54. Again, comparing AAD and MOE gives a ‘rule of thumb’ indication of the presence and effect of non-sampling error. At one week before the election, the AAD is minimal and estimates show little potential non-sampling error (3.58% versus 3.1%). However, at two months out, the AAD is larger than the MOE, suggesting problems with non-sampling error.

**Table 1: Average Absolute Error in Two-Way Races**

<b>Time before election</b>	<b>Two-way gubernatorial races</b>	
	<b>Average absolute difference</b>	<b>Average margin of error</b>
<b>One week</b>	3.58%	3.1%
<b>One month</b>	4.02%	3.1%
<b>Two months</b>	5.54%	3.1%
<b>Three months</b>	6.89%	3.1%
<b>Six months</b>	7.48%	3.1%
<b>Nine months</b>	8.26%	3.1%
<b>Twelve months</b>	9.06%	3.1%

55. We find the same pattern when examining three-way races. That said, the AAD is, on average, larger than that of two-way races. Indeed, the typical three-way gubernatorial race has an average AAD of 5% a week before the election and over 8% two months prior to election day.

56. Again, when compared to the MOE, even at one week, the AAD suggests significant non-sampling error (5.06% versus 3.1%). And at three months out, the AAD is much larger than a MOE of a "gold standard" 1000 interview survey (8.04% versus 3.1%).

**Table 2: Average Absolute Difference in Three-way Races**

<b>Time before election</b>	<b>Three-way gubernatorial races</b>	
	<b>Average absolute difference</b>	<b>Average margin of error</b>
<b>One week</b>	5.06%	3.1%
<b>One month</b>	6.65%	3.1%
<b>Two months</b>	8.04%	3.1%
<b>Three months</b>	9.10%	3.1%
<b>Six months</b>	9.23%	3.1%
<b>Nine months</b>	11.35%	3.1%
<b>Twelve months</b>	13.89%	3.1%

57. Here it is worth noting that gubernatorial races are more error prone than presidential races (see table 3 below). On average, the AAD for two-way gubernatorial races is 2 percentage points higher than that of presidential races. This could be a function of smaller sample sizes or greater non-sampling error. The table below compares the gubernatorial AAD with presidential-level AAD at one week, three months and one year.

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**Table 3: AAD for Presidential and Gubernatorial Races**

Time before election	Average Absolute Difference			
	Presidential races	Two-way gubernatorial	Three-way gubernatorial	"Adjusted" three-way
One week	1.7%	3.58%	5.06%	3.06%
Three months	4.8%	6.89%	9.10%	7.10%
Twelve months	7.9%	9.06%	13.89%	11.89%

58. In our sensitivity analysis below I include a two-month AAD for a three-way gubernatorial race (8.04%) as well as an "adjusted" two-month three-way gubernatorial race AAD (6.04%) to simulate conditions that might be encountered in three-way presidential polling.

**FINDINGS: POWER ANALYSIS**

59. Is an AAD of 6% or 8% large or small? Here I argue that it truly depends on what you are measuring. If the CPD 15% rule is being applied to a typical two-party candidate who has a vote share in the 40's, then probably such an AAD does not matter. However, for a candidate at the cusp of the 15% threshold, then such error rates can produce undesirable rates of 'false negatives' (incorrectly excluding candidates that should have qualified). This is especially worrisome given that the inherent advantages of the two-party system means that any independent candidate is more likely to be at or near the 15% mark than either major party candidate.

60. The central question is: is the 'ruler' being applied precise enough to correctly identify those independent candidates?

61. To answer this question, I employ 'statistical power analysis'. Statistical power analysis is a widely-used technique employed in hypothesis testing. It can be thought of conceptually as:

62. Power = P (Reject Null Hypothesis | the Null Hypothesis is False) where P means probability; and | means 'given'

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63. Specifically, statistical power analysis can be thought of as the ability to detect an effect, if the effect actually exists, of falsely accepting the null hypothesis when it is false. Put differently, statistical power analysis assesses the probability that a type II error (false negative) will occur. The greater the power, the less likely it is to accept a false negative.

64. I base my statistical power analysis on the actual AAD rates for 1,400 polls which includes observations of presidential, two-way and three-way gubernatorial races.

65. I develop a statistical power analysis simulator that allows us to assess the probability of a 'false negative' under different conditions. Specifically, I examine a hypothetical major-party candidate with an actual vote share of 42% versus a hypothetical independent candidate at 17%. For the purpose of this model, the actual vote share does not necessarily mean the vote share as polled – the point of the model is to assess the likelihood of the poll accurately measuring the actual vote share. I also look at different AAD rates which include: a three-way race three months out (9%) and two months out (8%) as well as adjusted AAD rates for two and three months out (6% and 7%).

66. In this hypothetical, the chances of the major party candidate at 42% vote share experiencing a false negative result in polling is only 0.04% (or .001% adjusted) two months out, whereas the independent candidate at 17% will falsely poll below the CPD threshold 40.2% of the time (or 37% adjusted) two months out.

**Table 4: False Negative Rates for Independent Candidates**

	Vote share	3 months out	2 months out	3 months out Adjusted	2 months out Adjusted
(AAD rate)	--	(9.10%)	(8.04%)	(7.10%)	(6.04%)
		<b><u>False Negative Rate</u></b>		<b><u>False Negative Rate</u></b>	
Major party candidate	42%	0.2%	0.04%	0.01%	0.001%
Independent candidate	17%	41.3%	40.2%	38.9%	37%

67. Or consider a few example of actual candidates. Tom Horner was polling at 18% in September of the 2010 Minnesota gubernatorial election. At that point in time he had a 31% chance of a false negative result barring him from participating in debates applying a 15% threshold for admission.

68. In the 1998 Minnesota Gubernatorial Election, independent candidate Jesse Ventura was only polling at a 15% vote share one months prior to the election – indicating that he had an approximately 50% chance that the five polls the CPD would use would result in him being barred from the debates. However, Ventura ended up winning the election with 37% of the vote.

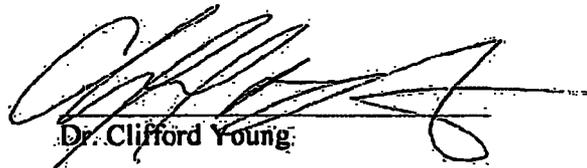
### CONCLUSIONS

69. Opinion polling includes many sources of error that can impact the accuracy of poll, including sampling and non-sampling error. Non-sampling error is of special concern in election polling because it can lead to inaccurate polls when comparing them to the actual vote. While varied, election polling can especially suffer from two types of non-sampling error: coverage bias and measurement error (election salience and strategic voting).

70. The average absolute difference (AAD) is a widely-used measure of error in election polls and can be used as a proxy for assessing error (non-sampling error) above and beyond the MOE (sampling error).

71. In my analysis, I find that three-way races are more error prone than two-way races. Such error rates are especially onerous for candidates at the cusp of the CPD's 15% threshold. Indeed, depending on the specific conditions, the probability of being falsely excluded from the debate by the CPD's 15% rule for a hypothetical independent candidate at 17% ranges from 37% to 41%.

Dated: Washington, D.C.  
September 5, 2014



Dr. Clifford Young

14081414-4000



## APPENDIX 2

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# Exhibit 63

11/03/2001

May 17, 2011

## With Huckabee Out, No Clear GOP Front-Runner

Bachmann and Cain generate high positive intensity among those who know them

by Frank Newport

PRINCETON, NJ — With Mike Huckabee out of the race for the 2012 GOP presidential nomination, three well-known politicians, Mitt Romney, Sarah Palin, and Newt Gingrich, emerge as leaders in Republicans' preferences. Republicans, however, have less intensely positive feelings about these three than they did about Huckabee. Two less well-known potential candidates, Michele Bachmann and Herman Cain, generate high levels of enthusiasm among Republicans who recognize them.

*2012 Republican Candidates and Potential Candidates: Recognition, Ballot Position, Positive Intensity Scores*

	% Name recognition among Republicans <sup>^</sup>	% Choosing in trial heat ballot, March-April 2011 <sup>**</sup>	Positive Intensity Score <sup>^</sup>
Mitt Romney	83	20	14
Sarah Palin	96	18	16
Newt Gingrich	84	11	13
Ron Paul	76	8	11
Michele Bachmann	58	5	21
Mitch Daniels	35	4	13
Tim Pawlenty	48	4	13
Rick Santorum	47	2	12
Jon Huntsman	25	2	9
Gary Johnson	21	1	1
Herman Cain	29	0	24

<sup>^</sup> Less than 0.5%

<sup>^</sup> Based on May 2-15, 2011, Gallup Daily tracking

<sup>\*\*</sup> Includes second choice for those selecting Huckabee or Trump

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### INTERACTIVE



[Track election 2012 data >](#)

The accompanying table displays potential Republican candidates' nomination support from March and April, based on reallocating choices of those who initially supported Huckabee or Donald Trump, and Positive Intensity Scores and name recognition for the two weeks ending May 15.

Republicans' nomination preferences at this point largely appear to reflect name identification. Palin, Gingrich, and Romney are the three best-known candidates, and they top the list of Republicans' preferences. Romney and Palin are essentially tied; Gingrich does slightly less well even though he and Romney have nearly identical name identification.

Ron Paul and Bachmann are the only other potential candidates with name recognition above 50%. They are also next in line in terms of Republican nomination support.

The remaining six candidates Gallup tracks -- Tim Pawlenty, Rick Santorum, Mitch Daniels, Cain, Jon Huntsman, and Gary Johnson -- have name recognition scores of less than 50% among Republicans. Each of them has less than 5% support in the March-April reallocated trial heat.

All in all, the basic pattern is clear: The most well-known candidates lead in nomination support at this point, while those who are not as well-known lag behind.

### Positive Intensity Scores Control for Recognition

A review of the GOP candidates' favorable ratings and Positive Intensity Scores reveals their strengths once name identification is controlled for.

Republican candidates can be divided into three groups based on their recognition scores.

**Group 1:** Palin, Gingrich, and Romney

*Republican Candidates: Recognition, Favorables, Positive Intensity*

	Sarah Palin	Newt Gingrich	Mitt Romney
% Recognition	96	84	83
% Overall favorable opinion, among those who recognize	72	69	74
% Overall unfavorable opinion, among those who recognize	26	24	17
% Strongly favorable opinion, among those who recognize	23	17	17
% Strongly unfavorable opinion, among those who recognize	7	4	3
Positive Intensity Score <sup>a</sup>	16	13	14

<sup>a</sup> % Strongly favorable minus % strongly unfavorable

May 2-15, 2011, Gallup Daily tracking

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- Palin, Gingrich, and Romney have roughly similar favorable percentages among Republicans who recognize them.
- Palin and Gingrich generate slightly higher negatives than does Romney.
- Palin's support is the most intense. A higher percentage of Republicans have strongly favorable opinions than is the case for the other two, giving her a slightly higher overall Positive Intensity Score despite her higher strongly unfavorable percentage.
- Gingrich and Romney have similar Positive Intensity Scores.
- The overall differences in Republicans' views of these three well-known candidates are not large.

**Group 2: Paul and Bachmann**

*Republican Candidates: Recognition, Favorables, Positive Intensity*

	Ron Paul	Michele Bachmann
% Recognition	76	58
% Overall favorable opinion, among those who recognize	64	71
% Overall unfavorable opinion, among those who recognize	25	16
% Strongly favorable opinion, among those who recognize	14	25
% Strongly unfavorable opinion, among those who recognize	3	3
Positive Intensity Score*	11	21

\* % Strongly favorable minus % strongly unfavorable; Positive Intensity Score may not equal the difference between these two percentages because of rounding  
 May 2-15, 2011, Gallup Daily tracking

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- Paul receives lower favorables than the three candidates in the top tier, or compared with Bachmann. Paul's Positive Intensity Score is below average.
- Bachmann's image among those who recognize her is as positive as that of any candidate tested. Bachmann has low unfavorables, similar to Romney's.
- Bachmann generates as high a percentage strongly favorable as anyone tested in this analysis. Bachmann's overall Positive Intensity Score of 21 is the highest of any of the better-known candidates, and overall is second only to that of the less well-known Cain.

**Group 3: Pawlenty, Santorum, Daniels, Cain, Huntsman, and Johnson**

*Republican Candidates: Recognition, Favorables, Positive Intensity*

	Tim Pawlenty	Rick Santorum	Mitch Daniels	Herman Cain	Jon Huntsman	Gary Johnson
% Recognition	48	47	35	29	25	21
% Overall favorable opinion, among those who recognize	70	69	67	71	66	56
% Overall unfavorable opinion, among those who recognize	14	13	14	13	17	23
% Strongly favorable opinion, among those who recognize	15	14	13	25	10	4
% Strongly unfavorable opinion, among those who recognize	1	2	1	1	1	3
Positive Intensity Score*	13	12	13	24	9	1

\* % Strongly favorable minus % strongly unfavorable; Positive Intensity Score may not equal the difference between these two percentages because of rounding  
 May 2-15, 2011, Gallup Daily tracking

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- Pawlenty and Santorum are the best known of this group, with recognition scores just under 50%.
- Pawlenty and Santorum have similar favorable images among Republicans who recognize them (about average for the candidates).
- Daniels, who is less well-known, has an image profile among those who recognize him that is similar to those of Pawlenty and Santorum.
- The remaining three Republicans in this list -- Cain, Huntsman, and Johnson -- have name IDs in the 20% range.
- The exceptional individual in this group is businessman Cain. He is recognized by 29% of Republicans and receives the highest Positive Intensity Score, based on those who know him, of any candidate measured. One-quarter of those familiar with Cain have a strongly favorable view, and only 1% have a strongly unfavorable view.
- Huntsman and Johnson not only have low recognition scores, but at this point generate low levels of enthusiasm among those who do know them. Huntsman's Positive Intensity Score of 9 and Johnson's 1 are the lowest of any current or potential candidate. Trump, who has now indicated that he will not run, ended with a Positive Intensity Score of -1.

**Summary: Where the Race Stands**

There is no clear front-runner in the race for the 2012 Republican presidential nomination. Palin, who has given no indication of whether she will run for the nomination, has very high name identification, is near the top of Republicans' nomination preferences, and has a higher Positive Intensity Score than any other well-known candidate. Palin thus must be considered one of the GOP leaders at this point. Romney and Gingrich are also

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well-known. Of the two, Romney is slightly better positioned at this point due to his higher ranking in Gallup's trial heats.

None of these three, however, comes close to generating the positive intensity of Huckabee. Palin's Positive Intensity Score, at 16, is slightly higher than Romney's or Gingrich's, but is nine points lower than Huckabee's final May 2-15 score of 25.

Paul and Bachmann are next in line in terms of their name identification among Republicans, and round out Republicans' top five candidates in the trial-heat list. Bachmann continues to generate relatively intense positive feelings among those who recognize her. Her current Positive Intensity Score is the second highest of any candidate Gallup tracks, and higher than those of the better-known Republicans.

All other candidates and potential candidates Gallup tracks have name recognition below 50%. Only one of them, Cain, creates strong enthusiasm among those who recognize him.

The biggest challenge for those in the Republican field beyond Palin, Gingrich, and Romney right now is increasing their name recognition. Observers continue to point to candidates such as Pawlenty, Daniels, and Huntsman as potential challengers for the GOP nomination, but none of them is known by more than half of Republicans at this point. Additionally, none of these less well-known candidates or possible candidates, except for Cain, is generating unusual enthusiasm among those who do know them, which suggests their need to attract attention to their candidacies in the months ahead.

The challenge for Bachmann and Cain will be to maintain their strongly positive positioning as they become more widely known.

#### Survey Methods

Results are based on telephone interviews conducted as part of Gallup Daily tracking May 2-15, 2011, with random samples of Republicans and Republican-leaning independents, aged 18 and older, living in all 50 U.S. states and the District of Columbia. Questions asking about the 13 potential candidates measured in this research were rotated among randomly selected samples of Republicans each night; over the 14-day period, each candidate was rated by a minimum of 1,500 Republicans and Republican-leaning independents.

For the overall ratings of each potential candidate among Republicans and Republican-leaning independents, including recognition scores, one can say with 95% confidence that the maximum margin of sampling error is  $\pm 3$  percentage points. For the Positive Intensity Score for each candidate, the maximum margin of sampling error varies depending on the size of the group recognizing the candidate.

Interviews are conducted with respondents on landline telephones and cellular phones, with interviews conducted in Spanish for respondents who are primarily Spanish-speaking. Each sample includes a minimum quota of 400 cell phone respondents and 600 landline respondents per 1,000 national adults, with additional minimum quotas among landline respondents for gender within region. Landline telephone numbers are chosen at random among listed telephone numbers. Cell phone numbers are selected using random digit dial methods. Landline respondents are chosen at random within each household on the basis of which member had the most recent birthday.

Samples are weighted by gender, age, race, Hispanic ethnicity, education, region, adults in the household, and phone status (cell phone-only/landline only/both, cell phone mostly, and having an unlisted landline number). Demographic weighting targets are based on the March 2010 Current Population Survey figures for the aged 18 and older non-institutionalized population living in U.S. telephone households. All reported margins of sampling error include the computed design effects for weighting and sample design.

In addition to sampling error, question wording and practical difficulties in conducting surveys can introduce error or bias into the findings of public opinion polls.

For more details on Gallup's polling methodology, visit [www.gallup.com](http://www.gallup.com).

#### Back to Top

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# Exhibit 64

1 FEB 04 44 34 21

# **CNN | ORC**

# **POLL**

**Interviews with 1,026 adult Americans conducted by telephone by ORC International on February 10-13, 2012. The margin of sampling error for results based on the total sample is plus or minus 3 percentage points. The sample also includes 937 interviews among registered voters (plus or minus 3 percentage points).**

**The sample includes 773 interviews among landline respondents and 253 interviews among cell phone respondents.**

---

**FOR RELEASE: TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 14 AT 6 PM**

## RESULTS FOR ALL AMERICANS

6. We'd like to get your overall opinion of some people in the news. As I read each name, please say if you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion of these people -- or if you have never heard of them. (RANDOM ORDER)

	<u>Favorable</u>	<u>Unfavorable</u>	<u>Never heard of</u>	<u>No opinion</u>
<b>Newt Gingrich</b>				
February 10-13, 2012	25%	63%	8%	4%
January 11-12, 2012	28%	58%	9%	5%
November 11-13, 2011	36%	39%	16%	9%
June 3-7, 2011	30%	44%	16%	10%
April 29-May 1, 2011	30%	44%	14%	13%
April 9-11, 2010	38%	38%	14%	11%
May 14-17, 2009	36%	35%	14%	15%
March 9-11, 2007	25%	43%	18%	14%
November 3-5, 2006	28%	44%	13%	16%

### CNN/USA TODAY/GALLUP TRENDS

	<u>Favorable</u>	<u>Unfavorable</u>	<u>Never heard of</u>	<u>No opinion</u>
2003 Jul 25-27	39	42	8	11
1998 Jun 5-7	32	53	5	10
1998 Feb 13-15	37	48	4	11
1997 Jun 26-29	25	61	4	10
1997 Apr 18-20	24	62	6	8
1997 Jan 3-5	25	61	5	9
1996 Mar 15-17	24	58	6	12
1996 Jan 12-15	31	57	4	8
1995 Aug 4-7	31	47	6	16
1994 Dec 28-30*	27	35	14	24
1994 Nov 28-29*	29	25	22	24
1994 Oct 7-9*	19	22	42	17

\*WORDING: Oct, 1994: House Minority Leader, Newt Gingrich; Nov-Dec., 1994: Incoming Speaker of the House, Newt Gingrich

### **Texas Congressman Ron Paul**

February 10-13, 2012	42%	36%	10%	12%
January 11-12, 2012	38%	40%	11%	11%
November 11-13, 2011	32%	34%	22%	12%
June 3-7, 2011	34%	26%	25%	15%
April 29-May 1, 2011	30%	27%	29%	14%

## RESULTS FOR ALL AMERICANS

6. We'd like to get your overall opinion of some people in the news. As I read each name, please say if you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion of these people -- or if you have never heard of them. (RANDOM ORDER)

	<u>Favor- able</u>	<u>Unfavor- able</u>	<u>Never heard of</u>	<u>No opinion</u>
<b>Mitt Romney</b>				
February 10-13, 2012	34%	54%	5%	7%
January 11-12, 2012	43%	42%	8%	7%
November 11-13, 2011	39%	35%	14%	12%
June 3-7, 2011	39%	29%	17%	15%
April 29-May 1, 2011	40%	30%	19%	11%
October 27-30, 2010	36%	29%	18%	17%
April 9-11, 2010	40%	34%	12%	14%
October 16-18, 2009	36%	26%	17%	20%
May 14-17, 2009	42%	29%	12%	17%
July 27-29, 2008	41%	32%	13%	13%
February 1-3, 2008	38%	38%	9%	14%
January 9-10, 2008	31%	39%	11%	19%
September 7-9, 2007	28%	28%	24%	19%
June 22-24, 2007	27%	23%	26%	24%
March 9-11, 2007	18%	18%	42%	22%

*\*Wording Prior to Jan 2012: Former Massachusetts Governor Mitt Romney*

### **Former Pennsylvania Senator Rick Santorum**

February 10-13, 2012	32%	38%	15%	14%
January 11-12, 2012	31%	36%	21%	12%
November 11-13, 2011	17%	27%	39%	17%
June 3-7, 2011	16%	20%	49%	15%
April 29-May 1, 2011	16%	19%	51%	14%

# Exhibit 65

11024 11/21/2011

**Presidential Pre-Nomination Campaign Disbursements February 29, 2012**

	Operating Expenditures		Fundraising Disbursements		Legal/Accounting Disbursements		Other Disbursements		Total	Latest Cash on Hand		Debts Owed by Campaign		Debts Owed to Campaign	
	Minus Offsets		Minus Offsets		Minus Offsets		Disbursements					Owed by Campaign		Owed to Campaign	
<b>Republicans</b>															
Bachmann, Michelle*	\$9,940,432		\$0		\$0		\$5,000		\$12,274,326	\$411,279	\$1,049,567		\$0		
Cain, Herman*	\$15,518,452		\$0		\$0		\$30,800		\$15,875,256	\$986,430	\$580,200		\$0		
Gingrich, Newt*	\$19,176,106		\$0		\$0		\$0		\$19,406,463	\$1,543,032	\$1,550,517		\$0		
Huntsman, Jon**	\$5,920,924		\$410,641		\$0		\$0		\$6,368,331	\$870	\$5,176,723		\$2,280		
McCotter, Thaddeus G.**	\$545,587		\$0		\$0		\$1		\$548,850	\$927	\$105,636		\$761		
Paul, Ron*	\$32,752,342		\$0		\$0		\$14,123		\$32,987,165	\$1,367,486	\$0		\$0		
Pawlenty, Timothy***	\$5,129,159		\$0		\$0		\$102		\$5,941,144	\$5,815	\$17,500		\$0		
Perry, Rick**	\$19,214,626		\$0		\$0		\$0		\$19,833,114	\$674,564	\$14,464		\$0		
Romney, Mitt*	\$66,388,432		\$0		\$0		\$148		\$68,107,847	\$7,273,352	\$0		\$0		
Santorium, Rick*	\$13,002,088		\$0		\$0		\$1,500		\$13,100,785	\$2,598,305	\$922,448		\$0		
<b>Democrats</b>															
Obama, Barack*	\$72,026,652		\$0		\$0		\$2,228,503		\$78,712,495	\$84,674,461	\$30,058		\$0		
<b>Others</b>															
Johnson, Gary Earl*	\$594,453		\$51,550		\$28,130		\$0		\$674,133	\$11,463	\$181,335		\$0		
Roemer, Charles E. 'Buddy' III***	\$464,126		\$0		\$0		\$0		\$469,601	\$43,251	\$4,900		\$0		
<b>Total Republican</b>	\$187,588,147		\$410,641		\$0		\$51,673		\$194,443,281	\$14,862,060	\$9,417,055		\$3,041		
<b>Total Democrats</b>	\$72,026,652		\$0		\$0		\$2,228,503		\$78,712,495	\$84,674,461	\$30,058		\$0		
<b>Total Others</b>	\$1,058,580		\$51,550		\$28,130		\$0		\$1,143,734	\$54,714	\$186,235		\$0		
<b>Grand Total</b>	\$260,673,379		\$462,191		\$28,130		\$2,280,175		\$274,299,510	\$99,591,236	\$9,633,349		\$3,041		

\* First Financial Report for 2012 Cycle - 2011 Q2

\*\* First Financial Report for 2012 Cycle - 2011 Q3

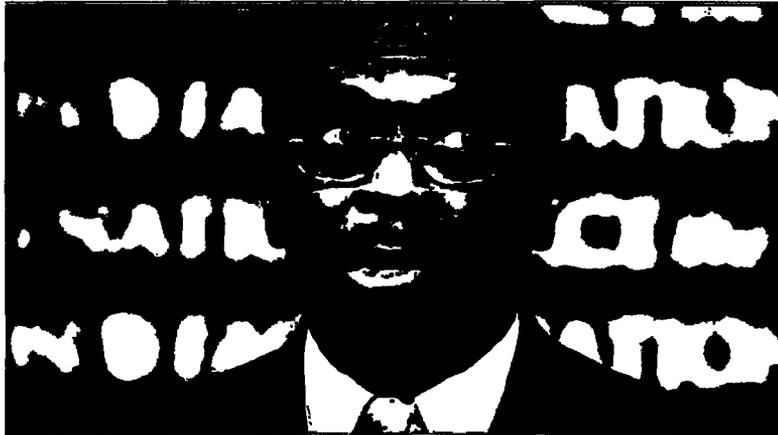
\*\*\* First Financial Report for 2012 Cycle - 2011 Q1

# Exhibit 66

140241M/2021

By STEPHANIE CONDON / CBS NEWS / October 28, 2011, 8:32 PM

# Herman Cain becomes a familiar name, poll shows



CBS

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**Herman Cain's popularity surging**

Herman Cain's name recognition among Republican voters has made a remarkable surge in recent months, a Gallup poll from this week shows, while his favorability rating among GOP voters stays strong.

As many as 78 percent of Republicans nationwide recognize Cain's name -- a jump of 28 points from September and 57 points from March -- making him as recognizable with other Republican presidential candidates.

Cain's surge in name recognition among Republicans corresponds with his rise in the polls. This week's CBS News/ New York Times poll shows Cain leading the field of GOP candidates with 25 percent support, with Mitt Romney following with 21 percent.

Unlike other Republican candidates that have climbed in the polls (only to fall some weeks later), Cain's favorability rating has stayed strong so far. Cain has the highest percentage of favorable opinions among Republicans (74 percent) and the lowest percentage of unfavorable opinions (16 percent).

CBSNews.com special report: Election 2012

Rep. Michele Bachmann's favorability rating peaked in the first week of July at 77 percent, when her recognition level was also at 77 percent. Her unfavorability rating stood at 15 percent. Bachmann's favorability rating has since fallen to 56 percent while her unfavorable rating has climbed to 34 percent.



Texas Gov. Rick Perry also had a high favorability rating in mid-July of 74 percent, though it's since fallen to 60 percent. His unfavorable rating has risen from 15 percent to 29 percent.

Former Massachusetts Gov. Mitt Romney currently has the second-highest

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84903 views
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- 05 **Cee Lo Green apologizes for "idiotic" tweets**  
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**Eye Opener: Obama, British PM Cameron defy ISIS threats**



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**Newly discovered dinosaur was king of the giants**



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Herman Cain will be this Sunday's guest on CBS' "Face the Nation." / CBS

favorability rating at 66 percent and an unfavorable rating of 24 percent.

Cain's campaign appears to have had some staying power in spite of recent missteps, like conflicting remarks on abortion policy, and new scrutiny on his campaign. The longer he remains atop of the polls, however, the more scrutiny he can expect.

Watch Herman Cain this Sunday on CBS' "Face the Nation."

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Stephanie Condon

ON TWITTER • ON FACEBOOK •

Stephanie Condon is a political reporter for CBSNews.com.

Featured in Politics



As Iraq's civil war rages, is containing ISIS enough?

The U.S. is launching air strikes to soften the group until the Iraqis and other regional allies can neutralize it, but some urge deeper involvement



Border crisis becomes campaign fodder in across the country

In states like Arkansas, Michigan and Alaska, security at the U.S.-Mexico border has become a midterm campaign issue

Popular on CBS News



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Obama: Russian aggression in Ukraine threatens a free Europe



Chris Christie skirts immigration discussion during trip to Mexico



Dick Cheney slams Obama in his bio, causing controversy



Bob McDonnell's lawyer vows to appeal corruption ruling



Races to watch with control of the Senate at stake



Hillary Clinton: U.S. can be clean energy "superpower"



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Congress pressures Obama for ISIS strategy



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multiplaz.com

Super New Technology Plasma Welder All in One to Weld,Cut,Brace,Solder

Most Shared



Joan Rivers dead at 81



Are companies that value employees more successful?



That's ruff! Great Dane eats 43 socks



Daughter: Joan Rivers "moved out of intensive care"



From 2002: Joan Rivers on old age



15 PHOTOS

Fast food workers protest



20 PHOTOS

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1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30

## NATO meets in Wales



10 PHOTOS

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**Exhibit 67**





# 2012 House and Senate Campaign Finance for Ohio

Election Cycle:  2013-2014  2011-2012  2009-2010  2007-2008

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Select 2 ~ 4 candidates to [Compare](#)

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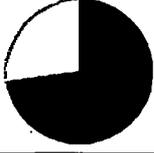
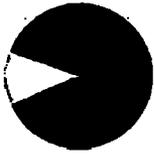
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Page 1 of 1 (15 records)

	Candidate (+)	District	Party	Incumbent / Challenger / Open	Receipts	Dishbursements	Cash On Hand	Debt	Date Through
<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>BLISS, RUSSELL P JR (RUSTY)</u>	00	REPUBLICAN PARTY	CHALLENGER	Receipts \$3,110 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Individual \$0 <input type="checkbox"/> PAC \$0 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Party \$0 <input type="checkbox"/> Candidate \$2,500 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Other \$610	\$2,963	\$143	\$0	03/31/2012
<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>BROWN, SHERROD</u>	00	DEMOCRATIC PARTY	INCUMBENT	Receipts \$20,945,196 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Individual \$17,816,108 <input type="checkbox"/> PAC \$2,123,580 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Party \$43,100 <input type="checkbox"/> Candidate \$335 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Other \$962,073	\$21,914,316	\$551,089	\$38,651	12/31/2012
<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>COUGHLIN, KEVIN J</u>	00	REPUBLICAN PARTY	CHALLENGER	Receipts \$64,615 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Individual \$64,614 <input type="checkbox"/> PAC \$0 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Party \$0 <input type="checkbox"/> Candidate \$0 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Other \$1	\$64,444	\$170	\$0	10/14/2011
<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>DEMARE, JOSEPH ROSARIO</u>	00	GREEN PARTY	CHALLENGER	Receipts \$0 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Individual \$0 <input type="checkbox"/> PAC \$0 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Party \$0 <input type="checkbox"/> Candidate \$0 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Other \$0	\$0	\$0	\$0	
<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>DODT, DAVID W SR</u>	00	REPUBLICAN PARTY	CHALLENGER	Receipts \$0 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Individual \$0 <input type="checkbox"/> PAC \$0 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Party \$0 <input type="checkbox"/> Candidate \$0 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Other \$0	\$0	\$0	\$0	
<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>EWING, DANA LEE</u>	00	INDEPENDENT	CHALLENGER	Receipts \$0 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Individual \$0 <input type="checkbox"/> PAC \$0 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Party \$0 <input type="checkbox"/> Candidate \$0 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Other \$0	\$0	\$0	\$0	
<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>FOCKLER, JOHN</u>	00	LIBERTARIAN PARTY	CHALLENGER	Receipts \$0 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Individual \$0 <input type="checkbox"/> PAC \$0 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Party \$0 <input type="checkbox"/> Candidate \$0 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Other \$0	\$0	\$0	\$0	
					Receipts \$6,325 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Individual \$825				

1300271042011

House and Senate Candidate List

<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>GLISMAN</u> DONNA KAREN	00	REPUBLICAN PARTY	CHALLENGER	<input type="checkbox"/> PAC \$0 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Party \$0 <input type="checkbox"/> Candidate \$5,500 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Other \$0		\$5,751	\$574	\$4,900	02/15/2012
<input type="checkbox"/>	GREGORY, ERIC LAMONT	00	REPUBLICAN PARTY	OPEN	Receipts \$0 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Individual \$0 <input type="checkbox"/> PAC \$0 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Party \$0 <input type="checkbox"/> Candidate \$0 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Other \$0		\$0	\$0	\$0	
<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>MANDEL</u> JOSH	00	REPUBLICAN PARTY	CHALLENGER	Receipts \$18,912,557 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Individual \$14,794,894 <input type="checkbox"/> PAC \$1,248,185 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Party \$44,200 <input type="checkbox"/> Candidate \$0 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Other \$2,825,278		\$18,868,809	\$43,698	\$0	12/31/2012
<input type="checkbox"/>	MCGINNIS, MARK A	00	DEMOCRATIC PARTY	CHALLENGER	Receipts \$0 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Individual \$0 <input type="checkbox"/> PAC \$0 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Party \$0 <input type="checkbox"/> Candidate \$0 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Other \$0		\$0	\$0	\$0	
<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>PRYCE</u> MICHAEL LINDSEY MD	00	REPUBLICAN PARTY	CHALLENGER	Receipts \$2,460 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Individual \$1,795 <input type="checkbox"/> PAC \$0 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Party \$0 <input type="checkbox"/> Candidate \$665 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Other \$0		\$1,997	\$872	\$0	01/31/2012
<input type="checkbox"/>	RIOS, ANITA	00	GREEN PARTY	CHALLENGER	Receipts \$0 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Individual \$0 <input type="checkbox"/> PAC \$0 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Party \$0 <input type="checkbox"/> Candidate \$0 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Other \$0		\$0	\$0	\$0	
<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>RUPERT</u> SCOTT ALLEN	00	INDEPENDENT	CHALLENGER	Receipts \$5,379 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Individual \$3,693 <input type="checkbox"/> PAC \$0 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Party \$0 <input type="checkbox"/> Candidate \$639 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Other \$1,047		\$6,337	\$61	\$0	12/31/2012
<input type="checkbox"/>	WALTERS, RYAN DEAN	00	REPUBLICAN PARTY	CHALLENGER	Receipts \$0 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Individual \$0 <input type="checkbox"/> PAC \$0 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Party \$0 <input type="checkbox"/> Candidate \$0 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Other \$0		\$0	\$0	\$0	

Export Options:

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Select 2 ~ 4 candidates to Compare:

Page 1 of 1 (15 records)

# Exhibit 69

1102744001



Newman says that no shortage of the money raised by members of Congress comes from corporations.

"Most industries give money to members of Congress because it buys them access and influence," Newman said. "And now, with Citizens United, corporations can spend unlimited amounts of money on these races. The result is that members of Congress are fearful about voting against corporate interests because there's so much money at stake."

DKnowles@nydailynews.com

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They were pilot and co-pilot in life — and in death. Larry

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A Bronx man was jailed in Florida for recording an up-skirt video of a woman at

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A C.I.A. station chief reportedly stopped five

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Kim Kardashian bares all! The reality star opened up about her sex life with husband Kanye West, the

**Lupus-stricken NYPD cop promoted to detective at One Police Plaza**



Crime Scene Unit Officer Haydn Chacana, 39, was promoted Friday during the

**Twinking Miley shares snap of her bodacious 'bottom'**



Miley Cyrus complains about the paparazzi, and yet with each passing day, she's spotted out and about

**SEE IT: Firefighters pull heat-stroked toddler...**



This is the dramatic moment firemen rescued a toddler from a sweltering car after his mom left him to

Jay Z celebrated his superstar wife's birthday with a special video.

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Our representative republic has devolved since it's inception to what could be called today a PLUTOLIGARCHY government system. My supporting argument as follows:

- PLUTOCRACY:**  
 1: government by the wealthy  
 2: a controlling class of the wealthy

**OLIGARCHY:**  
 1: Power structure in which power effectively rests with a small number of people. These people could be distinguished by royalty, wealth, family ties, education, corporate, or military control. Such states are often controlled by a few prominent families who pass their influence from one generation to the next.

Quite the hybrid, and what Thomas Jefferson feared possible in the long term when debating checks and balances in order to prevent just this from coming to fruition.  
 As "Born in the U.S.A." plays in the background.....

Like [REPLY](#)

**ITSALLINPERCEPTION** 0  
 542 days ago

Exactly....the "only" way to fix this is to fix how people get elected....of course, it is a multi-billion dollar system so the chances are slim to none.

Like [REPLY](#) SHARE

**IRAQMET04** 0  
 542 days ago

What's worse, they don't even try to hide it anymore...and apparently, the electorate doesn't care.

Like [REPLY](#) SHARE

**BATSEN** 0  
 543 days ago

And we wonder why they do the bidding of the rich? They're one and the same!

Like [REPLY](#) SHARE

**SEE IT: Jay Z shares sweet video for Beyonce's birthday**



**Tom Brady 'throws fits' and 'pouts' to get attention from Gisele**  
 Wait, even Tom Brady has to beg for attention from supermodel wife Gisele Bündchen? The handsome



**Jack Daniel's slams video of Welshman downing bottle**

You couldn't drink liquor any quicker. A Welshman earned a lot of fans after claiming to chug an entire



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Nick Cannon dropped off the face of the social media world a while back due to rumors of "trouble in



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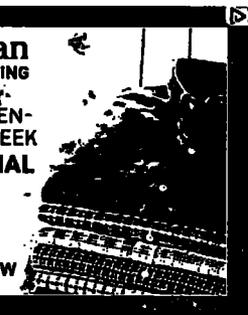
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# Exhibit 70

**EXPERT REPORT OF DOUGLAS SCHOEN**

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WISCONSIN VOTING

## I. OVERVIEW

My name is Douglas Schoen, and I am a political analyst, pollster, and author. My work on politics, current events, and international affairs has been published by *The Wall Street Journal*, *The Washington Post*, *Forbes*, *Fox News*, *The Huffington Post*, and *Newsmax*, among others. I was a founding partner of the polling firm *Penn, Schoen, Berland*, and more recently, *Schoen Consulting*. At these firms, I have worked on a number of campaigns, including those of Bill Clinton, Hillary Clinton, Jon Corzine, Evan Bayh, Mike Bloomberg, Tony Blair, Silvio Berlusconi, and three Israeli prime ministers. At these campaigns, I conducted both qualitative and quantitative analysis. One of my main and consistent focuses was on the candidate's messaging: what themes and arguments were voters most receptive to, and how to structure a campaign to best convey these to the voters. To do so, I had to design and conduct countless polls. This forced me to develop an intimacy with the attitudes, expectations, and realities of the voter, both American and international. My research interests span a range of issues, having written books on topics as far reaching as the Tea Party movement, the waning influence of American moderates, and a history of presidential campaigns, to name a few.

In this memo I explore several questions concerning reform of the selection criteria for presidential debates used by the Commission on Presidential Debates ("CPD")—which require that a candidate have at least 15% support in national public opinion polls in September of a presidential election year—and the attendant consequences for presidential candidates unaffiliated with a major party:

- A. **What would an independent candidate running for president reasonably expect to spend in order to meet current requirements to participate in a presidential debate?**

**B. Is it reasonable to expect an independent candidate to raise the money necessary to meet current requirements to participate in a presidential debate?**

**C. Is polling in September of the election year an accurate way to measure the viability of an independent candidate?**

In my report, I have drawn on academic papers, popular news sources, raw data from the Federal Election Commission ("FEC"), published accounts of past campaigns, and my personal experience in politics. What follows is an overview of the key findings of the research I undertook to answer these questions. A full elaboration and discussion of these findings can be found beginning on page 4 of this document.

## **II. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY OF KEY FINDINGS**

**1. What would an independent candidate running for president reasonably expect to spend in order to meet current requirements to participate in a presidential debate?**

**An independent candidate should reasonably expect to spend approximately \$266,059,803 to run a viable campaign capable of reaching 15% support in polls by September of the election year.**

This estimation is predicated on the assumption that a candidate would need to achieve name recognition of at least 60% among the general public in order to be able to reach 15% support by the current deadline. The media purchase necessary to take a candidate lacking national name recognition to above 60% name recognition is over \$100 million, and even this number should be taken as the minimum. This includes broadcast, cable, and digital media placement costs. The rest of my figure is accounted for by the production of the advertisements as well as general campaign expenditure.

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**2. Is it reasonable to expect an independent candidate to raise the money necessary to meet current requirements to participate in a presidential debate?**

**This figure represents a level of financing that is, for all practical purposes, *impossible for all but the major-party candidates.***

With three candidates vying for access to the same media, costs are likely to be even higher due to the increased competition. Furthermore, an independent candidate may lack the ties with networks and broadcast companies that major parties have, preventing them from buying spots even with sufficient funds. In addition to this, the media will not cover an independent candidate until they are certainly in the debates. Thus, they must pay for all their media, making this prohibitively high number unavoidable.

**3. Is polling in September of the election year an accurate way to measure the viability of an independent candidate?**

**Elections with more than two candidates are prone to distinct volatility in voter support that *limits the predictive power of pre-election polling data.***

All polling includes assumptions about margin of error, but the presence of a third candidate in a race introduces a level of volatility that makes it especially difficult for pollsters to accurately capture candidate support, and September polling is not reliable enough to assess candidate viability. Pre-election polling in September lacks credibility in determining which candidates are viable enough to be included in the presidential debates in three-way races.

\* \* \*

What follows is a detailed exploration and discussion of these questions and findings.

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### III. ESTIMATED CAMPAIGN COSTS

#### A. MEDIA COSTS

Currently, the CPD rules only allow participation from candidates who are polling at or above 15% in national opinion polls in late September and have ballot access in states totaling at least 270 electoral votes, making it mathematically possible for them to win the election. In order to meet the CPD's 15% requirement, a largely unknown independent candidate would need national name recognition<sup>1</sup>.

Under the current rules, whether an independent candidate running for president will be able to participate in the debates depends on his polling two months before the election. This uncertainty about debate participation, which persists throughout the summer and into September of the election year, precipitates a wider uncertainty which has its own pernicious effects: A candidate is not a serious contender unless he or she participates in the debates. Not knowing whether the campaign is viable, or the candidate credible, the media refuses to pay the campaign much attention.

As one report notes, "Minor party and Independent candidates' financial disadvantages are compounded by their inability to attract earned media"<sup>2</sup>. It is widely acknowledged that non major party candidates lack media attention, and that Americans' presidential choices are limited by the media to just two<sup>3</sup>. Indeed, the media structures its

---

<sup>1</sup> For purposes of this report, the term "independent candidate" means a presidential candidate running as an independent (*i.e.*, unaffiliated with any party) or as a third-party nominee. It does not encompass candidates who compete in the Democratic and Republican primaries but then drop out to mount independent or third-party bids.

<sup>2</sup> Paul Herrmson & Ron Faucheux, *Outside Looking In: Views of Third Party and Independent Candidates, Campaigns & Elections* (Aug. 1999), available at <http://www.gvpt.umd.edu/herrmson/art3.html>.

<sup>3</sup> Kristina Nwazota, *Third Parties in the U.S. Political Process*, PBS NewsHour (July 26, 2014, 8:40 PM), [http://www.pbs.org/newshour/updates/politics-july-dec04-third\\_parties/](http://www.pbs.org/newshour/updates/politics-july-dec04-third_parties/).

coverage so as to preclude the possibility of an independent generating attention. *Reason*, a libertarian publication, was the only media organization to send someone to follow Gary Johnson, a two term governor of New Mexico who was on the ballot in 48 states<sup>4</sup>.

That there was only one reporter charged with covering the Gary Johnson campaign highlights the point made above: the media does not give non major party candidates a chance to present themselves to the voters. This is extremely detrimental to non major party candidates because today, “the ‘viability’ of a political candidate is predicated upon one factor – mainstream media coverage”<sup>5</sup>.

As the foregoing demonstrates, it is much more difficult for the independent candidate to build name recognition and support and to raise money.

Deprived of free media attention, the independent candidate must resort to launching a massive national media campaign. On the other hand, the major party candidates, by competing in small state primaries, can build their name recognition without the costs of running a national campaign. Just as Obama’s 2008 victory in the Iowa caucuses catapulted him to national prominence, major party candidates may build a national profile by performing well in states with early primaries. Rick Santorum, who won the Iowa caucuses by 39 votes, spent only \$21,980 in the state, or 73 cents per vote<sup>6</sup>. But spending nearly \$22,000 in such a small, highly watched state had a huge national

---

<sup>4</sup> Elia Powers, *The Lonely Life of a Third-Party Presidential Candidate*, AJR (Nov. 5, 2012), <http://ajrchive.org/article.asp?id=5448>.

<sup>5</sup> Chris Hinyub, *Third Party Candidates Still Face Innumerable Political Obstacles*, IVN (Mar. 31, 2010), <http://ivn.us/2010/03/31/third-party-candidates-still-face-innumerable-political-obstacles/>.

<sup>6</sup> Felicia Sonmez, *Perry Spent More Than \$300 Per Vote in Iowa; Santorum, Only 73 Cents*, The Washington Post (Jan. 1, 2014, 6:00 AM), [http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/post-politics/post/perry-spent-more-than-300-per-vote-in-iowa-santorum-only-73-cents/2012/01/04/g1QAItDmZP\\_blog.html](http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/post-politics/post/perry-spent-more-than-300-per-vote-in-iowa-santorum-only-73-cents/2012/01/04/g1QAItDmZP_blog.html).

impact. Before the Iowa caucuses, Santorum was polling below 5% nationally; a week after them, he had jumped to third place among the Republicans, polling above 15%<sup>7</sup>. The primary campaign, which starts in small states with lilliputian media markets but draws immense and free national media, gives underfunded campaigns the chance to build name recognition affordably. The independent candidate, however, is never given this chance.

If I were advising an independent candidate running for president, I would suggest that in order to reach 15% in the polls, to be prudent the candidate would need to plan to raise his or her name recognition to at least 60% among the public at large. **Canal Partners Media, a leading corporate and political media-buying firm, estimates that it would cost at least \$100,000,000 to buy the ad time necessary to go from near-unknown to 60% name recognition – below I follow the guidelines their plan establishes.** Partners at Canal Partners Media have planned the paid media for dozens of political campaigns, including the presidential campaigns of major party nominees. Their estimate is based on recent national awareness campaigns that they have conducted for both political and corporate clients, and reflects what it has cost them in the past to achieve awareness levels of around 60%. I trust their estimate and it is in line with my own experience.

I would advise that any national media campaign incorporate broadcast, cable, and digital advertising. Broadcast is split between national and local buys, and targeting the largest 30 media markets allows a candidate to reach 54% of the country. This, I

---

<sup>7</sup> *2012 Republican Presidential Nomination*, Real Clear Politics, [http://www.realclearpolitics.com/epolls/2012/president/us/republican\\_presidential\\_nomination-1452.html](http://www.realclearpolitics.com/epolls/2012/president/us/republican_presidential_nomination-1452.html) (last visited Sept. 2, 2014).

believe, will lead to cost efficiency. Focusing on the largest media markets allows each ad to be seen by more people, and therefore discussed by more people, both virtually and personally. The ads, therefore, have an impact beyond just being aired on television; because they are being seen in the largest media markets – which are often dense areas, or areas where there is constant commuting – the advertisements will be able to impact more people than just those who have viewed the ads. Although any particular campaign strategy will be specific to the candidates and the electorate of the given election year, targeting these 30 markets is an efficient means of reaching the requisite amount of the public, and is therefore a reasonable assumption for purposes of this estimate. A candidate following this plan would thus be buying 250 gross ratings points (GRPs) per week on local broadcasting, for a total 45,000 GRPs.<sup>8</sup> **This alone would cost an estimated \$65,857,500.**

National broadcast buys, such as buys on popular morning shows (GMA, Today, Early Show), a limited number of prime time shows (60 Minutes), and popular sporting events (MLB All-Star Game, Ryder Cup, U.S. Open), raise costs further. This minimalist media strategy targets the most viewer-dense television events, giving candidates the greatest effect for their dollar. A national broadcast buy as described above would total 1,145 GRPs and cost an estimated \$21,547,845. **All told, this moderate broadcast campaign would cost at least an estimated \$87,405,345.**

---

<sup>8</sup> A GRP is a unit used to measure the size of the group reached, and is arrived at by multiplying the percentage of the population reached by the frequency with which they see that ad. When I say, then, that an ad has so many GRPs, what I really mean is that so many people have seen it so many times. Achieving higher GRPs means increasing the size of the audience reached and the frequency at which ads are aired.

A study from opinion research firm Ipsos provides a context for these figures: to achieve proper saturation, that is, to reach the desired percentage of the population, traditional advertising only needs to be between 600-700 GRPs<sup>9</sup>, but a political ad should achieve around 1,000 GRPs. This is so because campaigns operate on a shortened time horizon compared to commercial products: a company can afford to build name recognition and product loyalty slowly over several years, whereas a campaign cannot.

Considering this, I believe the plan described by Canal Partners is accurate, and achieves a sufficient level of visibility to generate a considerable amount of name recognition in a short period of time while also keeping an eye towards minimizing costs.

Viewership for television is often divided along demographic lines, like age<sup>10</sup>, gender<sup>11</sup>, and race<sup>12</sup>. Therefore, I would advise that a candidate have a cable campaign to accompany his broadcast buy as a means to specifically target several major demographic groups. A cable buy would have three pillars: a news component, an entertainment component, and a sports component.

For the news component, 215 GRPs would be bought on MSNBC and CNN respectively. The buy would focus on each network's premier shows – AC360, Erin Burnett, Situation Room, Morning Joe, Rachel Maddow, and Hardball – to reach viewers

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<sup>9</sup> See Ipsos-ASI, Media Flighting and Expected Impact (Aug. 27, 2010) (on file with author).

<sup>10</sup> Lynette Rice, *Ratings Alert: What You're Watching if You're 11, 50, or 34 Years Old (The Results May Surprise You!)*, Entertainment Weekly (Mar. 15, 2011, 2:38 PM), <http://insidetv.ew.com/2011/03/15/ratings-by-age/>.

<sup>11</sup> *Demographics*, TRAC Media Services (Apr. 20, 1988), <http://www.tracmedia.org/library/Concepts/Demographics/default.aspx> (last visited Sept. 2, 2014).

<sup>12</sup> Derek Thompson, *Which Sports Have the Whitest/Richest/Oldest Fans?*, The Atlantic (Feb. 10, 2014, 10:51 AM), <http://www.theatlantic.com/business/archive/2014/02/which-sports-have-the-whitest-richest-oldest-fans/283626/>.

in the most cost-effective way. This would be a total of 430 GRPs on cable news, for a total estimated cost of \$5,294,875 (\$2,933,775 for MSNBC and \$2,861,100 for CNN).

The purpose of the entertainment component is to offset the male-skew of news programs, and to reach influential and engaged media consumers. This would require buying 390 GRPs: 215 GRPs on HGTV, and 175 GRPs on the Food Network. This would cost a combined total of \$5,857,350 (\$3,274,200 on HGTV and \$2,583,150 on the Food Network).

The cable sports buy would target regional and team networks. This allows a level of specificity in picking where a candidate's message would appear, penetrating into hard-to-reach markets; ads can be inserted into specific games, series, and events. This would be a modest buy of 65 GRPs, which would cost an estimated \$1,932,000.

**This, to be clear, is not an extravagant cable rollout.** Only two news networks and two entertainment networks are being targeted, and sports buys only focus on regional and team networks, not large national programming like games on Fox and ESPN. This *restrained* cable rollout would cost an estimated \$13,584,225.

The final aspect of a media buy would include a **digital effort**. This includes a vast array of activities: search engine marketing, social media advertising (in this case limited to Facebook), digital radio, mobile advertising, video sites (YouTube, Hulu, etc.), advertising on national news sites (Politico, NYT, LA Times, TPM, etc.), and content integration. This would cost an estimated \$5,716,206. While the internet and social media are changing political communications by introducing new ways to reach voters, traditional methods of advertisement remain dominant and critical as far as determining

awareness levels. No serious candidate can expect to rely primarily on lower-cost social media in order to drive awareness, and I would not advise a candidate to do so.

**Thus, when broadcast, cable, and digital media placement costs are taken together, the cost for all the spots needed to reach 60% name recognition is \$106,705,776.**

It is also important to note that the actual costs are likely to be **significantly higher** since in an election year featuring three viable candidates, or at least three candidates capable and willing to spend the requisite amount of money on advertising, ad markets will be extraordinarily competitive and expensive. It is impossible to predict exactly how prices might increase, but it is enough to understand that they almost certainly will. A simple 5% increase in costs would drive the total up by roughly \$5.5 million.

Another factor to consider is that a hypothetical independent candidate may not be able to buy the necessary spots, even if he has the funds. Established campaigns and parties have well-developed relationships with networks, allowing them to often times buy large chunks of ad space all at once. As I can personally verify, campaigns buy ad time in an effort to exclude their opponents from doing so. Because the two major party campaigns are more likely to get the best spots, an independent candidate might have to run a higher volume of ads to reach 60% name recognition. **In short, it is nearly impossible to measure exactly how much costs might go up during a presidential election year for an independent candidate. If I were putting together a media campaign for an independent presidential campaign, \$106,705,776 is the absolute least that I could imagine it costing.**

In 2012 the Romney campaign spent \$8,895,978 on media production, and the Obama campaign spent \$6,315,301. Using these two numbers as a reference point, I believe an independent candidate would likely pay somewhere between \$6 and \$9 million, with an optimistic estimate putting the cost of production at roughly \$6,200,000. **Producing ads and buying the minimum number of placements in order to achieve 60% name recognition would cost an estimated total of \$112,905,776.**

The above figure, as noted, assumed that it would take 60% name recognition among the public at large for an independent candidate to reach 15% in polls. However, research from Ipsos suggests that name recognition would in fact need to be much higher, around 80%<sup>13</sup>. This constitutes near-universal name recognition, since significant portions of the American electorate simply do not participate politically. It is difficult even for industry professionals to establish the cost of household name recognition, and this can only be attempted with the understanding that costs could vary significantly from any estimate. If we keep media costs linear, and therefore do not factor in diminishing marginal returns, and assume that the media buy described above would yield 60% name recognition, the figure provided from Canal Partners Media can be scaled up. **The estimated costs of a media buy to reach 80% national name recognition would be at least \$150,541,034.** This is a modest estimate, but I would advise a candidate attempting to reach 80% name recognition to expect to spend an amount in this range on media.

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<sup>13</sup> See Expert Report of Dr. Clifford Young, dated Sept. 5, 2014, submitted as an exhibit to the Complaint of Level the Playing Field and Peter Ackerman against the Commission on Presidential and its directors, filed with the Federal Election Commission.

## **B. ADDITIONAL COSTS**

Campaigns incur a host of other costs other than paid media. These costs, detailed below, are part and parcel of running a campaign. They are necessary for the candidate to communicate his message, seek press attention, attract volunteers, get on the ballot, comply with election law, etc. To be sure, not all of them directly relate to the acquisition of name recognition as directly as advertising does. But they are necessary for the candidate to obtain favorability and, ultimately, votes. After all, political advertisements must advertise something, and that something is an operational campaign, which involves a myriad of moving parts. For example, ads refer to the candidate's positions, but these positions must be developed in papers written by a policy team, which in turn might need its own small research staff. I believe a campaign is holistic, at least in that one cannot view its parts discretely, saying X is supererogatory but Y is necessary. On the contrary, a campaign is a single entity with each part of it being essential to any competitive campaign.

It is also important to note that I am using figures from the entire presidential campaign, even though the task at hand ostensibly is to suggest a budget that could get a candidate to 15% in the polls by September of an election year. I do not feel comfortable – nor do I believe would other advisors – creating a partial budget for a campaign. In other words, it does not strike me as prudent to advise a client to develop a strategy and campaign structure up until a certain point and then, essentially, make a new plan on the fly. Instead, it is much better to create a working budget for the entire campaign, with the intention of reevaluating throughout. This is advisable, and perhaps even necessary, because donors, supporters, and volunteers will be disturbed by the lack of a complete

election plan; no one is going to invest their emotions, efforts, or resources into a campaign that only has a plan to go part of the way. Also, it is not always possible to separate costs between months: perhaps the campaign must sign leases for various headquarters that extend through November, or make commitments to television networks, or staff.

In order to calibrate their message, chart campaign strategy, and evaluate progress, campaigns need polling. In 2012 Romney spent \$8,204,469.9, and Obama spent \$10,632,718.86 on polling<sup>14</sup>.

In addition, the Romney campaign spent \$1,149,581.10 on legal fees, while the Obama campaign spent \$2,879,057.43.

Running a campaign requires a large staff and therefore a large payroll. The Romney campaign spent \$19,358,245.08 on payroll, while the Obama campaign spent nearly double that, \$38,232,173.08. Staff requires facilities, and in 2012 the Romney campaign spent \$2,060,237.14 on rent and utilities bills, while the Obama campaign spent \$2,225,324.04 on rent and occupancy. A candidate and his staff must travel from event to event. The Romney campaign spent \$13,361,101 on travel expenses, while the Obama campaign spent \$21,271,608.

Campaigns tend to file small charges and minor purchases as credit card expenses. The Romney campaign paid \$2,237,003.46 for these expenses, and the Obama campaign paid \$9,477,728.60.

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<sup>14</sup> The data on campaign spending for the Romney and Obama campaigns was taken from reports available on the FEC's website. See *Details for Candidate: P80003353 (Mitt Romney)*, Federal Election Commission, <http://www.fec.gov/fecviewer/CandidateCommitteeDetail.do?candidateCommitteeId=P80003353&tabIndex=1> (last visited Sept. 3, 2014); *Details for Candidate: P80003338 (Barack Obama)*, Federal Election Commission, <http://www.fec.gov/fecviewer/CandidateCommitteeDetail.do?candidateCommitteeId=P80003338&tabIndex=1> (last visited Sept. 3, 2014).

Direct mail is another necessity if an independent campaign aims for widespread name recognition and issue awareness. The Romney campaign spent \$11,954,177.52 on direct mail printing and postage, while the Obama campaign spent a more modest \$3,466,697.90.

The Romney and Obama campaigns each spent slightly more than \$8 million on campaign events and event consulting.

The Romney campaign paid \$1,191,444.61 in bills for security. This security, of course, is in addition to the secret service protection he received. It is not clear an independent candidate would receive such protection.

The Romney campaign spent \$6,144,121.04 on design and printing services, while the Obama campaign spent \$11,543,896.26 on similar services.

The Romney campaign spent over \$17,000,000 on telemarketing and managing telemarketing data, while the Obama campaign spent \$23,144,244.22.

Taking this information into account, **any partial budget that I would endorse for an independent presidential campaign I were consulting, one that aimed to run a serious campaign capable of competing with the two major parties, would be no less than \$133,026,467, or 75% of Mitt Romney's major campaign spending in 2012 excluding media.** This number represents part of what I believe an independent would have to spend if they wanted to reach 15% and compete in the debates.

I arrived at this figure – 75% of the partial Romney budget – by comparing the budgets of viable presidential campaigns from the last decade. Since in the most recent election the Romney campaign spent less than the Obama campaign did, I chose their number as a starting point. From there, I determined how much less an independent

campaign could realistically spend. In 2012, the Romney campaign spent 77% as much as the Obama campaign did; in 2008, the McCain campaign spent 46% as much as the Obama campaign did<sup>15</sup>; in 2004, the Kerry campaign spent 90% as much as the Bush campaign did<sup>16</sup>. The mean of these numbers is 74%. In the current environment it appears that a presidential campaign can spend, depending on the election cycle, as little as 45% of what a larger campaign is spending and still be competitive. Based on this historically inflected range, and supposing that this range might persist into the future, it is my opinion that the budget I have constructed is a good guide as to what is considered the industry norm. It is important to remember that the decision makers who came up with these numbers were themselves motivated by cost efficiency and tried to spend as little as possible. The numbers, therefore, themselves serve as commentary: they are each campaign's statement, so to speak, about how little they could spend.

This trend would apply to an independent campaign. 75% sits comfortably in the middle of this range and is close to its mean, and I would not recommend anything less to a serious candidate. Indeed, my personal experience on a number of campaigns, at the congressional, senate, and presidential levels, confirms this technical analysis. Further, using this method, the independent campaign would be spending 75% as much as the second largest campaign, which in turn would be spending 75% as much as the largest campaign. This means that the independent campaign would be spending 56.25% as much as the largest campaign.

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<sup>15</sup> *John McCain*, OpenSecrets.org, <http://www.opensecrets.org/pres08/summary.php?cycle=2008&cid=n00006424> (last visited Sept. 3, 2014); *Barack Obama*, OpenSecrets.org, <http://www.opensecrets.org/pres08/summary.php?cycle=2008&cid=n00009638> (last visited Sept. 3, 2014).

<sup>16</sup> *2004 Presidential Race*, OpenSecrets.org, <https://www.opensecrets.org/pres04/index.php?sort=E> (last visited Sept. 3, 2014).

Those who say this is supposing an independent campaign would spend more than is necessary are not considering the unique political context in which an independent would be running. In a two-way race, the political reality for each major party, in a way, puts a ceiling on the amount of money each major party campaign will spend. For instance, there are states Republicans never worry about, and states Democrats never worry about. Thus, in a two-way race, their campaigns are not truly national – in 2012, there were only 13 states in which *both* campaigns together spent over \$1,000,000 on advertisements<sup>17</sup>. The independent candidate, however, would not benefit from the entrenched structures – both actual and ideological – that allow major party candidates to compete on such a reduced map. The independent candidate, in order to have any chance of winning, would likely have to increase the playing field, bringing states that are not contested in a two-way race into play. This suggests that an independent, even if he runs a fiscally disciplined campaign, will have to spend a great deal because the campaign map will be larger than the typical two-way race. Thus, my proposition that an independent campaign could get by spending 75% as much as the smaller campaign may be too modest.

### C. ESTIMATE OF TOTAL COSTS

Table 1 on the following page provides an accounting of all major campaign costs for Obama and Romney in 2012. There are, however, numerous miscellaneous costs associated with each campaign that it does not make sense to detail, each cost itself being modicum. When all these minor costs add up, though, they represent a significant amount

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<sup>17</sup> Wilson Andrews et al., *Tracking TV Ads in The Presidential Campaign*, The Washington Post (Sept. 25, 2012), <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/special/politics/track-presidential-campaign-ads-2012/v1/>.

of money. In sum, the total costs for the Obama campaign in 2012 was \$598,709,622, and the total cost for the Romney campaign in 2012 was \$460,505,714.

Even if we suppose that a bare-bones campaign can get by with only spending money on the most necessary and major budget items (Table 1), we are *still* left with an astronomically high number.

The Romney campaign spent \$177,368,609.53 on all major campaign costs, excluding buying ad spots. We exclude ad spots from this figure because Romney already benefitted from a high degree of name recognition. Instead we use the figure that Canal Partners Media provided, as that figure was arrived at with the specific needs of an independent candidate with little-to-no national name recognition in mind. **Taking the \$133,026,467 in major campaign costs arrived at above, we add the media cost figure Canal Partners Media estimated for 60% national name recognition. From here, we add the cost of ballot access that Americans Elect paid in 2012<sup>18</sup> to get \$253,221,474.**

Elections become more expensive each cycle, and so any estimate based on 2012 numbers must be adjusted for campaign cost inflation. In 2004, the two major campaigns spent a combined total of \$654,967,245<sup>19</sup>, in 2008 \$1,062,895,257<sup>20</sup>, and \$1,116,828,064 in 2012<sup>21</sup>. If costs grow at the same rate that they did between 2008 and 2012 (5.07%),

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<sup>18</sup> In 2012, Americans Elect sought ballot access as a political party, and reached the level of signatures necessary to get on the ballot in 41 states. The cost of that ballot access effort was \$13,489,231.

<sup>19</sup> *2004 Presidential Race: Summary*, OpenSecrets.org, <http://www.opensecrets.org/pres04/index.php?sort=E> (last visited Sept. 2, 2014).

<sup>20</sup> *2008 Presidential Election*, OpenSecrets.org, <http://www.opensecrets.org/pres08/> (last visited Sept. 2, 2014).

<sup>21</sup> *2012 Presidential Race*, OpenSecrets.org, <http://www.opensecrets.org/pres12/> (last visited Sept. 2, 2014).

my proposed campaign budget for an independent candidate would be \$266,059,803. In other words, if I were working on an independent presidential campaign in 2016, I would like to see a budget at around that number. Anything less and I would not believe that the campaign had a chance. Based on my years of experience both as a practitioner and student of politics, this is the number I would advise my campaign to be prepared to spend.

The arithmetic is summarized below.

**TOTAL INDEPENDENT CAMPAIGN COST (SUMMARY 1)**

Romney campaign spending on major items:
<b>\$242,368,609.53</b>
Romney campaign spending on major items excluding spending on media buys:
<b>\$177,368,609.53</b>
Barebones independent campaign (75% of Romney costs):
<b>\$133,026,467 (+ ballot access costs \$13,489,231) = \$146,515,698</b>
Independent campaign budget + media buy:
<b>\$146,515,698 + \$106,705,776 = \$253,221,474</b>
<b><u>Independent campaign budget + media buy, with growth in campaign spending factored in:</u></b>
<b><u>\$253,221,474 x (1.0507) = \$266,059,803</u></b>

Furthermore, this number is just a baseline—I have assumed that costs will be linear, but in reality they are likely to grow exponentially as media buys become more competitive and the marginal cost of voter support increases.

Simply put, there is no way of telling exactly how expensive a modern election with three competitive candidates will be. The unique circumstances of such an election will likely drive costs upwards and excite/frighten partisan donors to give more than they have in the past.

**My recommended \$266 million budget should thus be considered an absolute minimum for an independent candidate who wishes to reach 15% national name recognition by September and secure participation in the debates.**

Tables itemizing campaign costs can be found on the following pages.

INDEPENDENT

**SUMMARY OF MAJOR 2012 CAMPAIGN COSTS<sup>22</sup> (TABLE 1)**

<b>Item</b>	<b>Romney Campaign</b>	<b>Obama Campaign</b>
<b>Ad spots<sup>23</sup></b>	\$65 million (Only includes summer buys)	\$153.4 million (Only includes summer buys)
<b>Ad production</b>	\$8,895,978	\$6,315,301
<b>Campaign Event Costs</b>	\$4,871,947.32	\$3,497,643.60
<b>Consulting<sup>24</sup></b>	\$79,496,572.34	\$6,538,327.17
<b>Credit card</b>	\$2,237,003.46	\$9,477,728.60
<b>Legal</b>	\$1,149,581.10	\$2,879,057.43
<b>Mailing</b>	\$11,954,177.52	\$3,466,697.90
<b>Payroll</b>	\$19,358,245.08	\$38,232,173.08
<b>Polling</b>	\$8,204,469.94	\$10,632,718.86
<b>Printing and design</b>	\$6,144,121.04	\$11,543,896.26
<b>Rent</b>	\$2,060,237.14	\$2,225,324.04
<b>Telemarketing</b>	\$19,645,175.59	\$23,144,244.22
<b>Travel</b>	\$13,361,101	\$21,271,608
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$242,368,609.53</b>	<b>\$292,624,720.16</b>

<sup>22</sup> The data for this table and Tables 2 and 3 were drawn from the Romney and Obama campaign finance reports filed with the FEC. Those reports can be accessed online via the FEC's Candidate and Committee Viewer portal, located at <http://www.fec.gov/fecviewer/CandCmteTransaction.do>.

<sup>23</sup> For a more detailed breakdown of money spent on ad buys, see Table 4 below.

<sup>24</sup> For a more detailed breakdown of money spent on consulting, see Tables 2 and 3 below.

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WEEKLY TV SPENDING IN SUMMER 2012<sup>25</sup> (TABLE 4)

<b>Week</b>	<b>Romney campaign</b>	<b>Obama campaign</b>	<b>Total by campaigns, committees, and PACs</b>
<b>April 30 - May 6</b>	\$50 (\$50 per average spot)	\$790,670 (\$366 per average spot)	\$4.4 million (\$753 per average spot)
<b>May 7 - 13</b>	\$0	\$3 million (\$521 per average spot)	\$8 million (\$689 per average spot)
<b>May 14 - 20</b>	\$405,080 (\$342 per average spot)	\$4.6 million (\$455 per average spot)	\$11 million (\$594 per average spot)
<b>May 21 - 27</b>	\$1.4 million (\$349 per average spot)	\$4.8 million (\$422 per average spot)	\$10.9 million (\$488 per average spot)
<b>May 28 - June 3</b>	\$1.4 million (\$343 per average spot)	\$4.9 million (\$412 per average spot)	\$11.1 million (\$477 per average spot)
<b>June 4 - June 10</b>	\$2.1 million (\$348 per average spot)	\$4.4 million (\$492 per average spot)	\$10.8 million (\$482 per average spot)
<b>June 11 - June 17</b>	\$2.3 million (\$356 per average spot)	\$5.4 million (\$410 per average spot)	\$11.7 million (\$426 per average spot)
<b>June 18 - June 24</b>	\$2.2 million (\$336 per average spot)	\$5.9 million (\$354 per average spot)	\$16.5 million (\$491 per average spot)
<b>June 25 - July 1</b>	\$3.1 million (\$340 per average spot)	\$9.4 million (\$350 per average spot)	\$21.5 million (\$474 per average spot)

<sup>25</sup> The data in this table were drawn from the Washington Post's analysis of 2012 presidential race television advertising spending, available at *Tracking TV ads in the presidential campaign*, Washington Post, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/special/politics/track-presidential-campaign-ads-2012/v1/> (last visited Sept. 4, 2014).

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<b>July 2 - July 8</b>	\$3.2 million (\$365 per average spot)	\$5.4 million (\$317 per average spot)	\$12.2 million (\$385 per average spot)
<b>July 9 - July 15</b>	\$3.5 million (\$370 per average spot)	\$6.5 million (\$317 per average spot)	\$16.4 million (\$395 per average spot)
<b>July 16 - July 22</b>	\$3.4 million (\$364 per average spot)	\$6.7 million (\$327 per average spot)	\$19.1 million (\$390 per average spot)
<b>July 23 - July 29</b>	\$2.6 million (\$361 per average spot)	\$8.5 million (\$463 per average spot)	\$23.4 million (\$467 per average spot)
<b>July 30 - Aug. 5</b>	\$498,880 (\$403 per average spot)	\$15.9 million (\$985 per average spot)	\$36 million (\$709 per average spot)
<b>Aug. 6 - Aug. 12</b>	\$2.3 million (\$612 per average spot)	\$4.6 million (\$334 per average spot)	\$23.1 million (\$608 per average spot)
<b>Aug. 13 - Aug. 19</b>	\$5.2 million (\$619 per average spot)	\$4.6 million (\$334 per average spot)	\$33.9 million (\$643 per average spot)
<b>Aug. 20 - Aug. 26</b>	\$2.2 million (\$1,160 per average spot)	\$11 million (\$537 per average spot)	\$34.7 million (\$627 per average spot)
<b>Aug. 27 - Aug. 31</b>	\$2.3 million (\$514 per average spot)	\$10.9 million (\$546 per average spot)	\$21.7 million (\$673 per average spot)
<b>Sept. 1 - Sept. 9</b>	\$2.3 million (\$514 per average spot)	\$11.7 million (\$588 per average spot)	\$14.3 million (\$455 per average spot)
<b>Sept. 10 - Sept. 16</b>	\$4.5 million (\$447 per average spot)	\$9.3 million (\$431 per average spot)	\$19.6 million (\$481 per average spot)
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$65 million</b>	<b>\$153.4 million</b>	<b>\$354.1 million</b>

#### IV. FUNDRAISING DISADVANTAGES FOR INDEPENDENTS

A plurality of donations to the Romney and Obama campaigns were under \$200<sup>26</sup>. Assuming that the average individual donation was \$200– although it was likely smaller, we are using a high figure to present the *best case fundraising scenario* – and assuming 3% of people solicited decided to donate – an optimistic estimate (especially for an independent as opposed to a major party candidate) drawn from my personal campaign experience – **it would take presentations to over 44,343,300 people to raise the necessary funds for a presidential campaign capable of reaching the debates under current standards.** A summary of the arithmetic is below.

It is important to understand what I mean by “presentations”. A presentation is not necessarily a unique appeal by phone or in-person to a potential donor. Instead, a presentation is any interaction the campaign has with a voter that explicitly or implicitly touches on the subject of fundraising. Many advertisements – both digital and on television – implicitly ask for donations, for example. 44,343,300 people is about one fifth of the adult population, which is a dauntingly high number of appeals to make, unique or not.

Of course, the assumption for average donation can vary depending on the candidate, as well as the time the donation is made. In the 2012 presidential election, for example, Barack Obama’s campaign disclosed that the average donation to his campaign and the Democratic National Committee was \$65.89<sup>27</sup>. Those small donations are the

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<sup>26</sup> Jeremy Ashkenas et al., *The 2012 Money Race: Compare the Candidates*, The New York Times, <http://elections.nytimes.com/2012/campaign-finance> (last visited Sept. 2, 2014).

<sup>27</sup> Byron Tau, *Obama Campaign Final Fundraising Total: \$1.1 billion*, Politico (Jan. 9, 2013), <http://www.politico.com/story/2013/01/obama-campaign-final-fundraising-total-1-billion-86445.html>.

product of Obama's concentrated online "microtargeting" efforts, meant to reach as far as possible to draw in campaign contributions. Candidates may, with this especially accurate, far-reaching, and internet-based solicitation method, be able to claim the politically desirable statistic that they receive more small donations than their opponent, an edge up intended to prove a link between the candidate and a supportive middle class. Still, many of these variables for establishing an assumed average contribution amount come down to strategy. In contrast to Obama's far-reaching, small donation approach, Romney received more support from the RNC and his super PAC than did Obama from the DNC and his super PAC.

Because the maximum donation for an individual to a candidate in any race is \$2,600, candidates who appeal to donors with more money may be inclined to do so through those PACs. For that reason, I left out anything over that amount when coming up with my average donation of \$200. This figure is meant to represent the probable average disclosed donation of a candidate who is able to appeal to those donating small sums as well as those giving several hundred dollars.

#### **DONORS NEEDED (SUMMARY 2)**

Money needed:
<b>\$266,059,803</b>
Plurality of donations: under \$200 → hypothetical average donation size: <b>\$200</b>
Donations of \$200 needed:
$\$266,059,803 / \$200 = 1,330,299$ donations
<b>Required amount of solicitations, supposing that 3% of potential donors contacted agrees to donate: <math>1,330,299 / 0.03 =</math></b>
<b>44,343,300 solicitations required</b>

## V. POLLING INACCURACY

It is my belief that, by their nature, elections with more than two candidates do not lend themselves to the same accuracy in polling as head-to-head campaigns. This belief is substantiated by a significant amount of data and shared by other experts. Indeed, races with a serious third party or independent contender are prone to a distinct volatility in terms of voter support that limits the predictive power of pre-election data. The extent of this volatility is, of course, dependent on the nature of the electorate and its perception of that third party candidate. A recent article by Harry Enten of *FiveThirtyEight* outlined a short historical analysis over the last 12 years for gubernatorial races where a third candidate was polling at or above 5%. Analyzing polling data from the months prior to the election and comparing them to the final results, he found a median absolute error of 10.1% in the mid-election polls for those polling in second place. That number grows to 15.3% for those polling third. Further, it was wholly unclear whether the polling over- or underestimated the potential of the third party candidate, with some polls missing a runaway by the major-party contender and others unable to foresee a third-party victory<sup>28</sup>.

Such a significant error is too significant to base assumptions about candidate viability on. Pre-election polling in September already lacks credibility in determining which candidates are viable enough to be included in the presidential debates, even in races with only two contenders. Thus, the findings of *FiveThirtyEight* further call into question polling data when there is a third candidate. A hypothetical third candidate can

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<sup>28</sup> Harry Enten, *Three-Way Governor's Race Could Get Messy For Cuomo*, *FiveThirtyEight* (May 30, 2014), <http://fivethirtyeight.com/datalab/three-way-governors-race-could-get-messy-for-cuomo/>.

be polling at 5% against his two opponents, excluding him from the debate due to the 15% participation standard. However, because of the pronounced error in a three-way race – 15.3% on average – that candidate could still finish with 20% of the vote. This highlights the absurdity of using poll data to gauge support of third-party candidates.

Perhaps, though, three way polls are not inaccurate per se, but still lack predictive power due to the *volatility* of three-way races. Each poll might represent an accurate snapshot of a rapidly shifting landscape, and, being only a snapshot, is unable to capture the shift. When I say “inaccuracy”, hence, I do not mean that the polls necessarily have not captured the voters’ sentiments at the time the poll was conducted, but that they are inaccurate in terms of predicting the final election results. In other words, the inaccuracy extends to the polls’ ability to capture and therefore anticipate quick shifts in voter preferences, not to their ability to discover how voters feel at the moment, however ephemeral that may be.

The inaccuracy of pre-election polling when a third candidate is involved is further exacerbated by the difficulty a pollster faces in identifying an appropriate sample of likely voters. As we have seen with the recent failure of Eric Cantor’s pollster to predict his primary election defeat, an error in sampling can lead to large errors in results that go undetected until Election Day. As Lynn Vavreck has described in the New York Times, and as I can personally affirm, pollsters who produce pre-election polls must arrive at some estimate of who they think will vote in that election. In other words, the true accuracy of a poll is contingent upon how right that pollster got the sample. As Vavreck puts it, “Pollsters don’t shoot balls between fixed goal posts, they shoot horeshoes around a fixed stake. . . . Being on the wrong court, however, is a much bigger

problem.”<sup>29</sup> Herein lies the problem with a race between three or more candidates – identifying the right sample becomes exponentially more difficult. This is largely in part because of the new voters that serious third party and independent candidates tend to bring out in an election, just as Ross Perot did in 1992. These voters, some of whom are politically inactive or even unregistered until mobilized by a compelling candidate, are easily overlooked when creating samples for pre-election polls.

When Jesse Ventura successfully ran for governor in 1998, Minnesota led the nation in voter-turnout due to the influx of first time voters. One in six voters, nearly 17% of the electorate, registered to vote on Election Day. According to exit polls, 12% of the electorate would not have voted had Ventura not been on the ballot<sup>30</sup>. Non major party candidates represent new views, or new combinations of tried and trusted views. The excitement that builds around them – if they are given proper media attention – and the effect it has creating first time votes, is understandable yet hard to anticipate exactly.

When these difficulties in sampling are combined with the inaccuracies I describe above that apply to any poll taken two months before the election, we are left with a very foggy picture of what will happen on Election Day in a three-candidate race. It is something other pollsters and I go to great efforts attempting to account for, but the simple fact is that polling of independents is inherently unreliable.

Further statistical research firm Ipsos. Using an Ipsos model based off of decades of polling data and electoral returns, we can predict the chance of polling volatility and

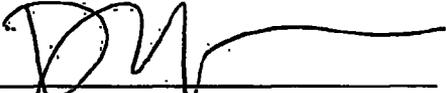
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<sup>29</sup> Lynn Vavreck, *Why Polls Can Sometimes Get Things So Wrong*, The New York Times: The Upshot (July 3, 2014), [http://www.nytimes.com/2014/07/04/upshot/why-polls-can-sometimes-get-things-so-wrong.html?\\_r=1](http://www.nytimes.com/2014/07/04/upshot/why-polls-can-sometimes-get-things-so-wrong.html?_r=1).

<sup>30</sup> Steven Schier, *Jesse's Victory*, Washington Monthly (Jan/Feb 1999), <http://www.washingtonmonthly.com/features/1999/9901.schier.ventura.html>.

error excluding serious candidates with the potential for significant appeal from the debates.<sup>31</sup> The implications of this model are discouraging for non-major party hopefuls and give us a clearer picture of just how insurmountable the 15% obstacle is for these candidates. A candidate receiving 20% of the vote on Election Day, a slightly better performance than that of Ross Perot in 1992, would still have a nearly one out of four (24.32%) chance of being excluded from the debates under the CPD's rule due to the lack of predictive power in polling in third-party races. This is absurd. The volatility/error of three-way polling are too great to ignore, and it is ridiculous to suppose that such a standard – which, because of its lack of predictive power, is little more than arbitrary – should be used to determine something as seminal as participation in the presidential debates.

Dated: New York, NY  
September 5, 2014

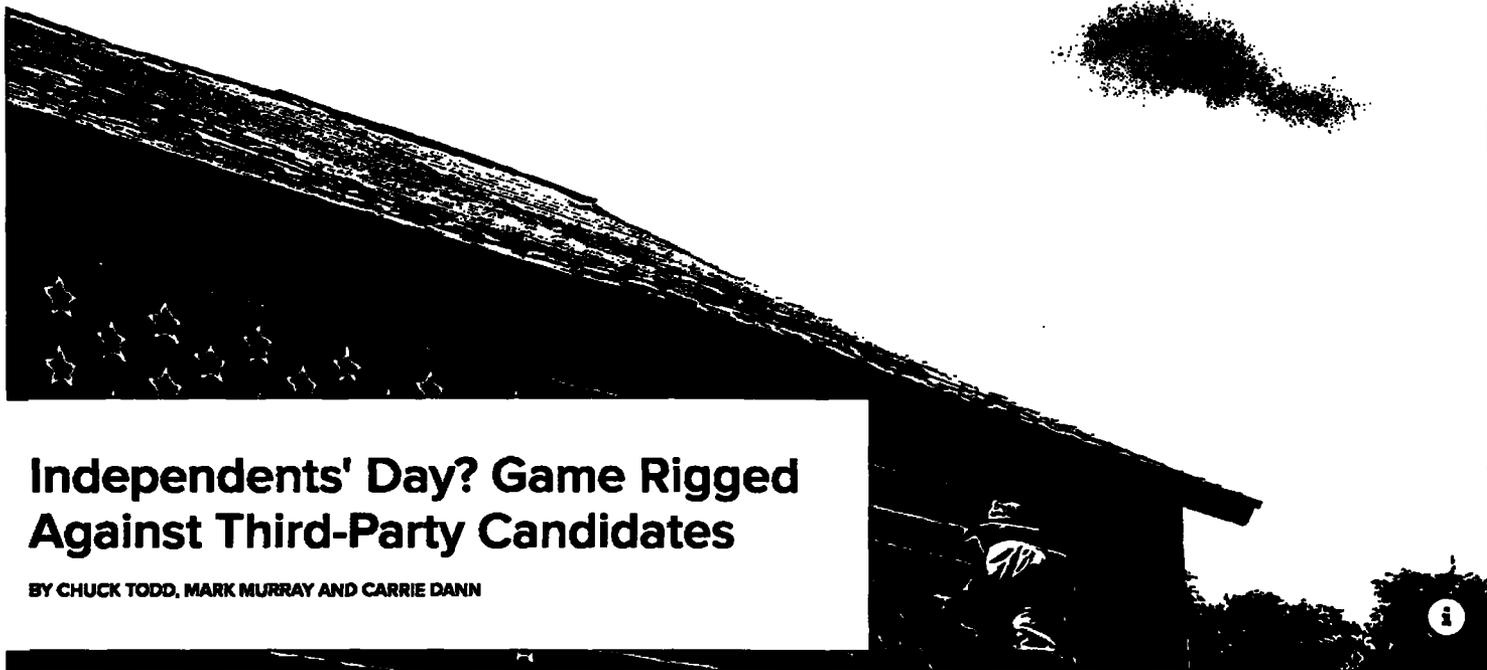
  
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Douglas Schoen

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<sup>31</sup> See Expert Report of Dr. Clifford Young, *supra* n.13.

# Exhibit 71

UNION-UNION



# Independents' Day? Game Rigged Against Third-Party Candidates

BY CHUCK TODD, MARK MURRAY AND CARRIE DANN

PHOTOGRAPH BY [unreadable]

## Independents' Day?

There's not a better week to look at the state of "independent-based politics" than on Independence Day weekend! And if there was ever a time for an independent, third-party candidacy to gain a following, it should be this year; the public is almost begging for it (as it was in 2010 or 2012). Just a quarter of Americans think the country is headed in the right direction, according to last month's NBC/WSJ poll; 57% want to fire their member of Congress; and the two major political parties have upside-down fav/unfav ratings with the public. But when you survey the 2014 races across the country, there aren't many viable third-party candidates. Yes, there are a handful of races where an independent could play spoiler – think Eliot Cutler in Maine's gubernatorial race, Larry Pressler in South Dakota's Senate contest, Mufi Hannemann in Hawaii's governor's race, and maybe even Thomas Ravenel in South Carolina's Senate contest. And, yes, it was just two years ago when independent Angus King, Maine's former governor, won a Senate seat in that state (though he caucuses with the Democrats). But the day before Independence Day, it's worth observing that political independents – both candidates and voters -- have less influence than they should during these anti-Washington times. There isn't a Jesse Ventura-like figure out on the horizon this election season. And political races are increasingly decided by the bases, not independents. See 2012.

### A rigged game

So how do you explain why independent candidates are unlikely to play a major role this election season when Washington and the two main political parties are so unpopular? There's a blunt answer: If you're a serious candidate with a solid resume and you are even considering a third-party candidacy, you believe the game is rigged against you. Unless an Independent is a Michael Bloomberg or Ross Perot, he or she won't have the campaign money or Super PAC network to compete with the major political parties, especially in today's post-Citizens United world. Third-party

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17





parties have. So it seems harder than ever for an independent candidate to break through. Then again, with social media and the power of outside groups, there is a potential PATH for a strong third-party candidate. But that's down the road, not now.

### A vehicle for protest votes

All of that said, some third-party candidates are going to get protest votes this fall. Strategists have told us that they see evidence these candidates are getting a higher percentage in polling than they ordinarily do, and that's significant because it means that a winning number in November isn't 51% -- it could be 46% or 47%. It's as if these third party candidates are serving as the public's "None of the Above." Don't forget last year's gubernatorial contest in Virginia, where Democrat Terry McAuliffe defeated Republican Ken Cuccinelli, 48%-45%, because Libertarian candidate Robert Sarvis got 6.5% of the vote. Of course, that Sarvis percentage was lower than polls had indicated, but it still made the winning number less than 50%.

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### Giving political juice (and relevancy) to a White House that was running on empty

The Washington Post's Dan Balz makes a point we made earlier this week: Ever since House Republicans announced that they would vote to authorize a lawsuit against President Obama, the president has seem energized. "With Immigration reform dead for this year, if not for the remainder of Obama's presidency, with House Speaker John A. Boehner (R-Ohio) threatening to sue him for alleged misuse of presidential power, and with other important legislation stalled in the House, the president has given voice to his frustrations with a series of partisan blasts." And as we said earlier this week, what the Boehner lawsuit has done is give political juice to a White House that had been running (almost) on empty the past few weeks. Meanwhile, don't miss a few of these critiques of the Boehner lawsuit idea coming from the right (see here and here). The main argument with both columns: the U.S. House has power to fight back if they think their power has been usurped, they don't need to go running to the judiciary branch for help -- it actually only makes the House and the legislative branch weaker by doing so.

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### Economy adds 288,000 jobs, unemployment rate drops to 6.1%

Speaking of juice, these numbers are bound to give the White House a little more pep in their step before the July 4 holiday: "Hiring over the past five months has been the strongest since the late 1990s tech boom as the economy added 288,000 jobs in June and the unemployment rate fell to 6.1 percent from 6.3 percent," the AP reports. "The Labor Department says those gains follow additions of 217,000 jobs in May and 304,000 in April, figures that were both revised upward." Folks, so much for that negative first-quarter GDP number. The economy looks stronger than at any time since the Great Recession.

### Going too far in Mississippi?

Tea Partier Chris McDaniel and his supporters certainly don't think last month's GOP Senate runoff in Mississippi is over. Yesterday, McDaniel issued this fundraising solicitation: "Thanks to illegal voting from liberal Democrats, my opponent stole last week's runoff election, but I'm not going down without a fight." And his supporters crashed a conference call sponsored by the Thad Cochran campaign, in which one unidentified person talked about "harvesting" cotton and black voters. That conference call should serve as a wakeup call to McDaniel and his team: Their challenge is dividing their party, it's injecting race (either explicitly or implicitly) into a state with a troubled history on that subject, and it's all damaging to Mississippi's

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First published July 3rd 2014, 9:12 am



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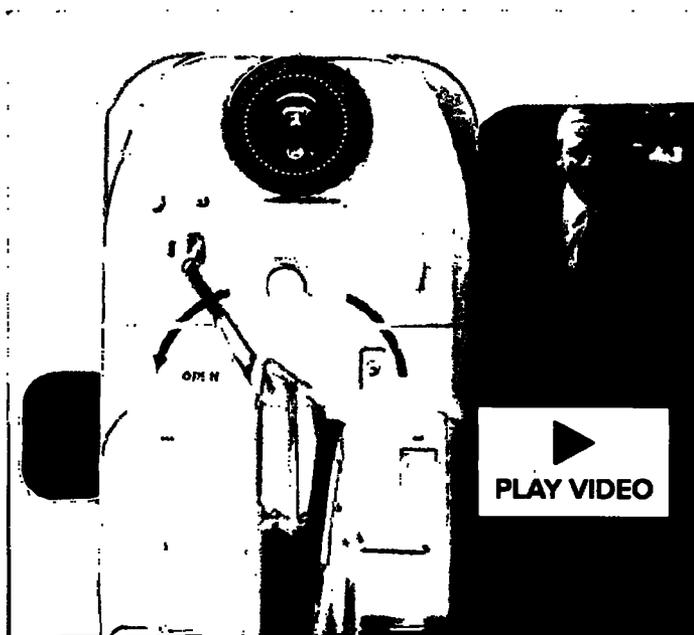
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# Exhibit 72

11/03/2014 10:40:00



\* % with highly favorable opinion minus % with highly unfavorable opinion, based only on those who recognize candidate

Question wording: Next, I am going to mention the names of some people in the news. For each one, please tell me if you recognize the name, or not. (Asked of those who recognize each person): Please tell me whether you have a generally favorable or unfavorable impression of \_\_\_\_\_. Is that a strongly (favorable/unfavorable) opinion or just (a/un) (favorable/unfavorable) opinion?

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### Barbour Also in the News This Week

Both *The Washington Post* and *The New York Times* this week carried major profiles of Barbour, who — like Pawlenty — is reported to be seriously considering running for president, although he has not yet set up an exploratory committee. Barbour has about the same level of name recognition as Pawlenty, but a considerably lower Positive Intensity Score (9). This suggests that Barbour does not yet generate much enthusiasm from those who are familiar with him.

### Implications

Name recognition is a necessary ingredient in a politician's race to win his or her party's nomination for president. The last eight Republicans who won their party's presidential nomination — John McCain, George W. Bush, Bob Dole, George H.W. Bush, Ronald Reagan, Gerald Ford, Richard Nixon, and Barry Goldwater — were well-known and well-established politicians. Even George W. Bush, who was a state governor with no national experience in the year before he won the Republican nomination, had a recognition score of over 80% when Gallup first measured him in February 1999, albeit aided in part by his famous last name.

Additionally, Barack Obama, who stands as an example of an individual who came from relative obscurity to national prominence, had a name recognition score of over 75% by March 2007, the year before he gained the Democratic nomination.

Pawlenty and Barbour thus face a serious challenge as they begin their quests to gain their party's nomination. Well under half of their party's rank-and-file members across the country at this point, less than a year before the first primaries and caucuses take place, know who they are. Both Pawlenty and Barbour, as well as other Republicans who are expected to formally announce their candidacies over the next few months, will be crisscrossing the country for the remainder of the year in an effort to make themselves known -- and liked -- by potential GOP primary voters. Gallup's weekly tracking and reporting on the name recognition and Positive Intensity Scores of potential Republican presidential candidates will gauge how successful the candidates are in these endeavors.

### Survey Methods

Results are based on telephone interviews conducted as part of Gallup Daily tracking March 7-20, 2011, with random samples of Republicans and Republican-leaning independents, aged 18 and older, living in all 50 U.S. states and the District of Columbia, selected using random-digit-dial sampling. Questions asking about the 12 potential candidates measured in this research were rotated among randomly selected samples of Republicans each night; over the 14-day period, each candidate was rated by a minimum of 1,500 Republicans and Republican-leaning independents.

For the overall ratings of each candidate among Republicans and Republican leaning independents, including recognition scores, one can say with 95% confidence that the maximum margin of sampling error is  $\pm 3$  percentage points. For the Positive Intensity Score for each candidate, the maximum margin of sampling error varies depending on the size of the group recognizing the individual.

Interviews are conducted with respondents on landline telephones and cellular phones, with interviews conducted in Spanish for respondents who are primarily Spanish-speaking. Each daily sample includes a minimum quota of 200 cell phone respondents and 800 landline respondents, with additional minimum quotas among landline respondents for gender within region. Landline respondents are chosen at random within each household on the basis of which member had the most recent birthday.

Samples are weighted by gender, age, race, Hispanic ethnicity, education, region, adults in the household, cell phone-only status, cell phone-mostly status, and phone lines. Demographic weighting targets are based on the March 2010 Current Population Survey figures for the aged 18 and older non-institutionalized population living in U.S. telephone households. All reported margins of sampling error include the computed design effects for weighting and sample design.

In addition to sampling error, question wording and practical difficulties in conducting surveys can introduce error or bias into the findings of public opinion polls.

For more details on Gallup's polling methodology, visit [www.gallup.com](http://www.gallup.com).

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# Exhibit 73

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July 17, 2014

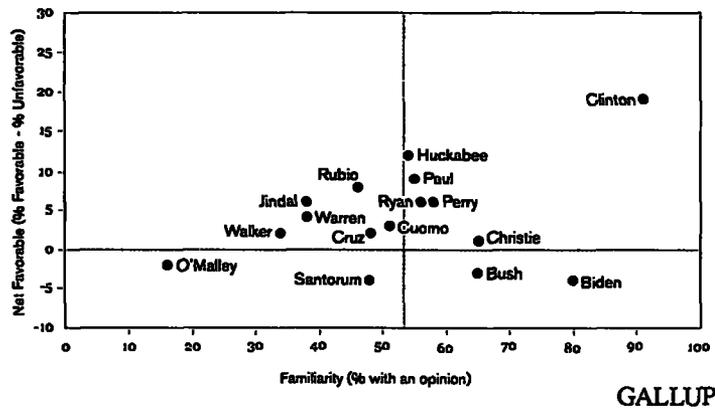
## Clinton Is Best Known, Best Liked Potential 2016 Candidate

Huckabee's image is slightly better than other GOP contenders

by Jeffrey M. Jones

PRINCETON, NJ — Hillary Clinton is currently the best known and best liked of 16 potential 2016 presidential candidates tested in a July 7-10 Gallup poll, due to her 91% familiarity score and +19 net favorable rating. The net favorable is based on her 55% favorable and 36% unfavorable ratings.

### POTENTIAL 2016 PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES Favorability and Familiarity Ratings



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In the graph seen above, those potential candidates in the upper-right quadrant are viewed more positively than negatively by Americans and have above average familiarity. The further candidates in that quadrant are away from the intersecting lines, the higher their scores are on both dimensions. The graph clearly shows Clinton's strong image positioning relative to other candidates at the moment for the general election. Gallup will report on candidate images among rank-and-file Republicans and Democrats in the coming days to see how the 2016 hopefuls stack up for their respective party's nomination.

Those potential candidates in the other three quadrants have weaknesses in familiarity, favorability, or both. Those in the lower-right quadrant are better known but less well liked, and must work to change people's opinions about them. Those in the upper-left quadrant are better liked but less well known, and their challenge lies more in becoming nationally known figures.

#### Huckabee May Have Slight Edge in GOP Field for General Election

Former Arkansas governor and current talk show host Mike Huckabee is arguably in a slightly better position image-wise among the national adult population than other potential Republican presidential candidates. His +12 net favorable rating edges out Kentucky Sen. Rand Paul's +9 for the highest among Republican candidates. Huckabee's 54% familiarity score trails those for New Jersey Gov. Chris Christie (65%) and former Florida Gov. Jeb Bush (65%), but is above the 52% average for the 11 Republicans measured in the poll. Christie's and Bush's net favorable ratings are among the lowest.

#### Familiarity and Favorable Ratings of Potential 2016 Republican Presidential Candidates, Based on National Adults

Ranked by net favorable

	% Familiar (have an opinion)	% With favorable opinion	% With unfavorable opinion	Net favorable (pct. pts.)
Mike Huckabee	54	33	21	+12
Rand Paul	55	32	23	+9
Marco Rubio	46	27	19	+8
Rick Perry	58	32	26	+6
Paul Ryan	56	31	25	+6
Bobby Jindal	38	22	16	+6
Ted Cruz	48	25	23	+2
Scott Walker	34	18	16	+2
Chris Christie	65	33	32	+1
Jeb Bush	65	31	34	-3
Rick Santorum	48	22	26	-4

July 7-10, 2014

GALLUP

Florida Sen. Marco Rubio has an above average +8 net favorable among national adults, but lags other Republican candidates with 46% familiarity. Texas Gov. Rick Perry and Wisconsin Rep. Paul Ryan are slightly above average in terms of both of favorability and familiarity.

Louisiana Gov. Bobby Jindal has the same +6 net favorability as Perry and Ryan, but is among the least well-known Republicans included in the poll with 38% familiarity. Texas Sen. Ted Cruz, Wisconsin Gov. Scott Walker, and former Pennsylvania Sen. Rick Santorum are below average in both favorability and familiarity, with Santorum viewed more negatively than positively.

## Biden Is Well-Known, Not Well-Liked

Two of the five Democrats included in the poll have net negative favorable ratings -- Vice President Joe Biden and Maryland Gov. Martin O'Malley. O'Malley is the least known potential candidate in the survey, with 83% of Americans not having an opinion of him. Biden's net negative favorable rating could be more troubling in terms of his 2016 prospects, as 80% of Americans have an opinion of him, second only to Clinton among the 16 candidates in the poll.

### *Familiarity and Favorable Ratings of Potential 2016 Democratic Presidential Candidates, Based on National Adults*

Ranked by net favorable

	% Familiar (have an opinion)	% With favorable opinion	% With unfavorable opinion	Net favorable (pct. pts.)
Hillary Clinton	91	55	36	+19
Elizabeth Warren	38	21	17	+4
Andrew Cuomo	51	27	24	+3
Martin O'Malley	16	7	9	-2
Joe Biden	80	38	42	-4

July 7-10, 2014

GALLUP

Americans are slightly more likely to have a positive than negative view of Massachusetts Sen. Elizabeth Warren (21% favorable, 17% unfavorable) and New York Gov. Andrew Cuomo (27% favorable, 24% unfavorable). Cuomo is the better known of those two, but still has below average familiarity.

### **Perry, Christie, Cruz Images Recovering**

The candidates with net negative favorable ratings can take some solace in knowing that Americans are quick to forgive -- or perhaps to forget -- when politicians do things that reflect negatively on them. Three of the potential candidates in the current survey -- Perry, Christie, and Cruz -- were rated much more negatively than positively the last time Gallup asked about them, and all are back to at least a slightly more positive than negative favorable rating.

- Perry's recovery may be the most impressive. When Gallup last measured him in December 2011, with his 2012 presidential campaign sputtering due to poor debate performances, he had a net favorable rating of -28 (27% favorable, 55% unfavorable). His familiarity scores are down since then, from 82% to 58%, but those able to rate him are now more positive than negative.
- Christie became a prominent and well-regarded national figure known for taking on the Democratic legislature in New Jersey and for his response to Superstorm Sandy. In June 2013 he had a +32 net favorable rating. The "Bridgegate" scandal last fall sent Christie's image plummeting, to a net -9 favorable rating earlier this year, before improving to +1 in the current poll.
- Cruz, a central figure in the government shutdown last fall, had a net favorable rating of -10 in an October 2013 Gallup poll. Eight months later, his net favorable rating is back to +2.

Biden is the only potential candidate whose image is notably worse than the last time Gallup measured him, with his net favorable rating slipping to -4 from +4 in February.

### **Implications**

The viability of a candidate's chances depends both on voters knowing who the candidate is, but also on voters having a positive impression of the candidate. Candidates usually become better known over the course of a campaign, but those who are better known at the outset have an advantage in that they don't have to work as hard to attract attention to, or raise money for, their campaigns. On the other hand, those who are well-known may have more difficulty improving their image during a campaign.

Although Clinton is the best-liked potential candidate in the poll -- 18 months before the first primaries or caucuses -- her favorable ratings are lower now than when she was secretary of state. They are, however, better than in July 2006, a year-and-a-half before the 2008 primaries, when she had a +6 net favorable rating (50% favorable, 44% unfavorable), before running a competitive but ultimately unsuccessful bid for the Democratic presidential nomination.

So while Clinton's image has lost some of its luster as she has moved from a less overtly political role as secretary of state to her current role as a book author and potential presidential candidate, she is in an arguably stronger position with the public now than she was before her 2008 presidential campaign.

### **Survey Methods**

Results for this Gallup poll are based on telephone interviews conducted July 7-10, 2014, with a random sample of 1,013 adults, aged 18 and older, living in all 50 U.S. states and the District of Columbia.

For results based on the total sample of national adults, the margin of sampling error is  $\pm 4$  percentage points at the 95% confidence level.

Interviews are conducted with respondents on landline telephones and cellular phones, with interviews conducted in Spanish for respondents who are primarily Spanish-speaking. Each sample of national adults includes a minimum quota of 50% cellphone respondents and 50% landline respondents, with additional minimum quotas by time zone within region. Landline and cellular telephone numbers are selected using random-digit-dial methods. Landline respondents are chosen at random within each household on the basis of which member had the most recent birthday.

Samples are weighted to correct for unequal selection probability, nonresponse, and double coverage of landline and cell users in the two sampling frames. They are also weighted to match the national demographics of gender, age, race, Hispanic ethnicity, education, region, population density, and phone status (cellphone only/landline only/both, and cellphone mostly). Demographic weighting targets are based on the most recent Current Population Survey figures for the aged 18 and older U.S. population. Phone status targets are based on the most recent National Health Interview Survey. Population density targets are based on the most recent U.S. census. All reported margins of sampling error include the computed design effects for weighting.

In addition to sampling error, question wording and practical difficulties in conducting surveys can introduce error or bias into the findings of public opinion polls.

[View survey methodology, complete question responses, and trends.](#)

For more details on Gallup's polling methodology, visit [www.gallup.com](http://www.gallup.com).

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# Exhibit 74

# Romney hits 'magic number' for GOP nomination

By Gregory Wallace, CNN

updated 5:34 AM EDT, Wed May 30, 2012

CNN.com

**(CNN)** -- Mitt Romney hit his party's "magic number" on Tuesday, unofficially clinching the Republican presidential nomination in a race he entered as the front-runner and has had to himself for weeks.

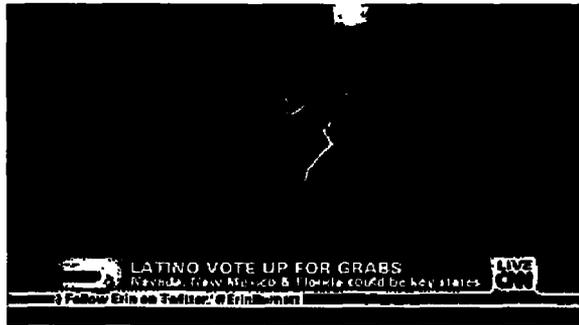
Romney led the pack when he announced his second run for the White House last June, and he has watched his rivals for the nomination slowly trickle out as their own wins looked increasingly unlikely.

The delegates to put him over the 1,144 necessary for the GOP nomination came in Texas, the lone state to vote this week. Romney entered the day 78 delegates away from the magic number, and on Tuesday CNN projected he would win the state's GOP presidential primary, where 152 of the state's 155 delegates were at stake.

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Could campaigning with Trump cost votes?

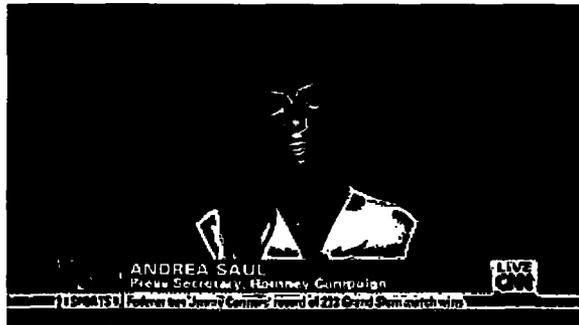


Courting the Latino vote

On Tuesday, Romney said he was humbled to have secured the requisite delegates to become the GOP nominee.



Romney: Big business not the enemy



Saul: Romney learned from his mistakes

"I am honored that Americans across the country have given their support to my candidacy and I am humbled to have won

enough delegates to become the Republican Party's 2012 presidential nominee," Romney wrote. "Our party has come together with the goal of putting the failures of the last 3½ years behind us. I have no illusions about the difficulties of the task before us. But whatever challenges lie ahead, we will settle for nothing less than getting America back on the path to full employment and prosperity. On November 6, I am confident that we will unite as a country and begin the hard work of fulfilling the American promise and restoring our country to greatness."

The chairman of the Republican National Committee, Reince Priebus, congratulated Romney on the milestone, saying Romney would "offer America the new direction we so desperately need."

Priebus' Democratic counterpart, Rep. Debbie Wasserman Schultz, was less enthusiastic.

"Tonight, after six years of trying and millions of dollars spent, and after a year of tepid support against one of the weakest fields in history, Mitt Romney has finally secured enough delegates to become the Republican Party's presidential nominee," wrote Wasserman Schultz, the chairwoman of the Democratic National Committee. "Romney may have finally gained enough delegates to become the nominee, but

what's been truly remarkable about his path to the nomination is how much damage he's left in his wake as he enters the general election."

Romney has been the presumptive nominee for weeks, but will not be the official party nominee until the Republican National Convention, set to be held the week of August 27 in Tampa, Florida.

Romney launched his campaign on a warm day last June, telling his supporters gathered at a New Hampshire farm that "Barack Obama has failed America."

### **Opinion: How political ads can elect a president**

"From my first day in office my No. 1 job will be to see that America once again is No.1 in job creation," he said.

The early primary battleground state would play an important role in his campaign. He initially invested more in New Hampshire than the first-in-the-nation caucus state of Iowa, which he eventually lost by a small margin to former Sen. Rick Santorum of Pennsylvania.

New England voters have long been familiar with Romney, even before his 2008 presidential bid. He served as governor of Massachusetts between 2003 and 2007.

Texas figured into this presidential race long before the first votes cast on Tuesday. One of the three factors in Santorum's April decision to end his presidential bid was a decision by Texas Republicans not to change their proportional delegate model to a winner-take-all system, which -- if he had stayed in the race and won the state -- could have given him a boost and held back Romney's delegate accumulation.

### **Opinion: GOP's problem with Latinos - as big as Texas**

Two of Romney's rivals in the once-crowded field are from Texas. Texas Gov. Rick Perry exited the race two days before the mid-January primary in South Carolina after a disappointing fifth-place finish in Iowa and his decision to stop campaigning in the second state to vote, New Hampshire.

Earlier this month, Rep. Ron Paul of Texas said he would no longer actively campaign for the Republican nomination, effectively ending his third run for the Oval Office with 122 delegates.

When Santorum, Paul and others were still in the race, talk of a contested convention swirled and it seemed to some a realistic possibility that Romney might not reach the magic number before the last state voted in June.

Former House Speaker Newt Gingrich vowed to push his bid onward to the convention unless Romney were to clinch the nomination earlier. He told reporters in late March that if Romney "does not have a majority [of delegates], I think you'll then have one of the most interesting, open conventions in American history." He suspended his bid in early May, and on Tuesday was to appear with Romney at a fundraiser in Las Vegas.

The earliest contests weeded out Rep. Michele Bachmann of Minnesota, who won the Iowa straw poll last summer but finished sixth in its January caucuses, and former Utah Gov. Jon Huntsman, who ended his bid before the South Carolina vote after falling short in New Hampshire.

Others dropped out before the voting began. Businessman Herman Cain's once-unlikely rise ended in December amid allegations of sexual misbehavior. Former Minnesota Gov. Tim Pawlenty dropped out

months earlier, in August, after the high stakes Ames, Iowa, straw poll.

Romney, who becomes the first Mormon presidential nominee of a major party, previously sought the GOP presidential nomination in 2008. He dropped out after Super Tuesday, which allocated 1,020 delegates from 21 states. The Texas primary in early March of that year gave Sen. John McCain of Arizona the necessary delegates to seal up the GOP nomination.

### **'Other-ness': What Obama and Romney have in common on religion, race**

In his 2008 convention speech, Romney spoke about many of the same themes that are prominent in his campaign this cycle, including a call "to rein in government spending, lower taxes, take a weed wacker to excessive regulation and mandates ... pursue every source of energy security, from new efficiencies to renewables, from coal to non-CO2 producing nuclear and for the immediate drilling for more oil off our shores."

President Barack Obama faced no national competition for the Democratic presidential nomination, and CNN projected he accumulated the 2,778 necessary delegates on April 3.

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Presidential Pre-Nomination Campaign Disbursements May 31, 2012

	Operating		Fundraising		Legal/Accounting		Other	Total	Latest Cash on Hand	Debts	
	Expenditures	Minus Offsets	Disbursements	Minus Offsets	Disbursements	Minus Offsets				Owed by Campaign	Owed to Campaign
<b>Republicans</b>											
Bachmann, Michelle*	\$9,940,432	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$5,000	\$0	\$5,000	\$12,274,326	\$411,279	\$1,049,567	\$0
Cain, Herman*	\$16,200,278	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$30,800	\$0	\$30,800	\$16,746,446	\$41,861	\$450,000	\$0
Gingrich, Newt*	\$22,860,546	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$23,190,703	\$735,716	\$4,736,046	\$0
Huntsman, Jon**	\$6,958,631	\$829,539	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$7,827,445	\$47,107	\$5,469,145	\$2,280
McCotter, Thaddeus G.**	\$545,508	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$1	\$0	\$1	\$549,675	\$762	\$105,636	\$761
Paul, Ron*	\$37,221,893	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$14,123	\$0	\$14,123	\$37,565,743	\$3,281,384	\$0	\$0
Pawlenty, Timothy***	\$5,151,016	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$102	\$0	\$102	\$5,965,502	\$0	\$0	\$0
Perry, Rick**	\$19,287,579	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$20,123,845	\$417,207	\$14,464	\$0
Romney, Mitt*	\$103,631,286	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$398	\$0	\$398	\$106,585,325	\$16,999,666	\$0	\$0
Santorum, Rick*	\$21,517,619	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$6,500	\$0	\$6,500	\$21,752,575	\$696,322	\$1,943,385	\$0
<b>Democrats</b>											
Obama, Barack*	\$145,064,907	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$2,255,747	\$0	\$2,255,747	\$153,596,853	\$109,718,115	\$1,207,807	\$0
<b>Others</b>											
Johnson, Gary Earl*	\$945,496	\$51,550	\$28,130	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$1,025,176	\$732	\$122,301	\$0
Roemer, Charles E. 'Buddy' III***	\$637,296	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$675,835	\$525,753	\$49,600	\$0
<b>Total Republican</b>	\$243,314,787	\$829,539	\$0	\$0	\$56,923	\$0	\$56,923	\$252,581,586	\$22,631,303	\$13,768,243	\$3,041
<b>Total Democrats</b>	\$145,064,907	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$2,255,747	\$0	\$2,255,747	\$153,596,853	\$109,718,115	\$1,207,807	\$0
<b>Total Others</b>	\$1,582,792	\$51,550	\$28,130	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$1,701,011	\$526,485	\$171,901	\$0
<b>Grand Total</b>	\$389,962,487	\$881,089	\$28,130	\$28,130	\$2,312,669	\$28,130	\$2,312,669	\$407,879,450	\$132,875,903	\$15,147,952	\$3,041

\* First Financial Report for 2012 Cycle - 2011 Q2

\*\* First Financial Report for 2012 Cycle - 2011 Q3

\*\*\* First Financial Report for 2012 Cycle - 2011 Q1

# Exhibit 76

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## A Polling-Based Forecast of the Republican Primary Field

By NATE SILVER

May 11, 2011 10:05 am

This is the finale of a four-part series (Part I, Part II, Part III) evaluating the utility of early presidential primary polls as forecasting instruments. My contention is that these polls have enough predictive power to be a worthwhile starting point for handicapping a field of candidates. In this article, we'll see what they have to say about the Republican contenders for 2012.

Here is a chart summarizing the 28 scientific polls that have been conducted on the Republican field since the start of the year, covering a total of 23 different candidates or prospective candidates. (For the ground rules used to assemble this data, see Part III).

Name recognition figures are mainly taken from Gallup, and reflect an average of all of Gallup's surveys since the start of the year. The exceptions are a handful of relatively obscure candidates whom Gallup has not yet polled on — in those cases the name recognition figures are estimates, and are indicated in red in the table. (Some of the polls were conducted in multiple versions with varying lists of candidates; that's why the table shows, for example, that Mike Huckabee was included in 26.2 polls out of 28.)

Our first model for translating this polling data into probabilities works as follows.

- First, we divide each candidate's polling average by name recognition. This gives us the percentage of voters who are familiar with the candidate and have him or her as their first choice.
- Next, we use logistic regression analysis based on our data set of past primary polls to translate the candidate's recognition-adjusted polling average into a probability of winning the nomination. (More technically, we use the square root of each candidate's recognition-adjusted polling average to fit the regression curve, which produces slightly better results on the historical data.)
- Finally, we prorate the numbers so that the probabilities sum up to 100 percent. That leaves us with the following:

I'm calling this the **Classical Model**, since it's a little bit more elegant than an alternative method that we'll examine later on. Divide a candidate's polling average by name recognition, and you have a pretty decent benchmark for the candidate's upside.

One thing that stands out is that this method gives the leading candidate, Mitt Romney, is given only about a one-in-four chance of winning (more precisely, a 27 percent chance).

How unusual is that? Have there been other races in the modern (post-1972) primary era that were *more* wide open? Here's how this method would have designated a favorite in past election cycles:

The current Republican race is, by some margin, the most wide-open in the modern era on the G.O.P. side, but there are a couple of comparable examples if you look at the Democrats. The model would have had Scoop Jackson as the nominal favorite to win the Democratic nomination in 1976 — but still would have given him only a 20 percent chance. Michael Dukakis in 1988 (26 percent chance of winning) and John Kerry in 2004 (29 percent) were in the same range as Mr. Romney is now, though for different reasons — their polling wasn't quite as strong as Mr. Romney's, but they were doing it with considerably lower name recognition.

That brings me to the second point. What makes the 2012 Republican race unusual is not that there isn't much of a frontrunner at this point — that's happened before — but rather that both the high-recognition and low-recognition names are underwhelming.

On the one hand, while Mr. Romney's numbers and Mike Huckabee's are considerably better than Sarah Palin's or Newt Gingrich's, they both fail to crack 20 percent in the polling average despite very wide name recognition. Both are also polling lower now than at the end of the 2008 campaign, in which Mr. Romney ultimately wound up with 22 percent of the Republican primary vote and Mr. Huckabee 21 percent.

On the other hand, there's no sign yet of a breakout candidate from the low-recognition group. Tim Pawlenty's name recognition has improved more than any other Republican candidate since the start of the year — it's increased to 49 percent from 39 percent, according to Gallup — but that hasn't translated into any additional support in the horse race polling, where his numbers have been stuck at about 4 percent all year. The same holds for Mitch Daniels — and with Mr. Daniels there's the added complication that he might not run at all.

This method is also not very enamored of Donald Trump, although that is partly because he was not included in many of the polls at the start of the year, and the model scores those as zeroes.

That effect becomes clear if we use the same methodology but exclude the polls conducted before April 1:

That pushes Mr. Trump up considerably. Then again, though, there were reasons why pollsters did not include Mr. Trump in surveys early in the year: it was not clear whether he would run, or take the campaign seriously if he did. And now, indeed, Mr. Trump's rise in the polls seems to be reversing.

There's another method of evaluating the race that is even more dismissive of Mr. Trump's chances. In this version, I break a candidate's polling average into two factors:

- How many polls include his or her name?
- How does the candidate poll when included?

This model treats name recognition as a separate variable, rather than meshing it together with a candidate's polling average. So it fits a three-variable regression model.

It turns out that one of the more potent predictors of success in past primary races was simply how frequently a candidate's name was included in the early polls. Although there have been winning candidates in the modern era, like Bill Clinton, who waited until quite late in the process to *officially* declare that they were running, there haven't been any who were not *laying the groundwork for a run* quite early on, to the point that they were routinely included in the polls. It's not so easy to make up for lost time if you've dawdled rather than hire staff, cultivate elite support, brush up your media skills and so forth. Being included in a poll in the early going is an indication that you are in fact doing those things.

Under this method, which treats inclusion in polls from the start of the year as something close to a prerequisite for winning the nomination, candidates like Mr. Pawlenty and Mr. Daniels do considerably better, while Mr. Trump's chances look considerably worse:

I call this the **Aggressive Model** because it can deviate quite a bit more from the horse race numbers — although it's more in line with how political scientists like Jonathan Bernstein and Brendan Nyhan, who place more emphasis on factors like elite support, think about the race.

Here, then, is the optimistic case for Tim Pawlenty — what the Aggressive Model would say if it spoke in English rather than statistics.

1. Mr. Pawlenty is definitely running, and has been preparing to do so for a long time now — which is true of surprisingly few candidates.
2. His lack of popular support certainly is problematic — and is only partially excused by his relative lack of name recognition. But all of the candidates have their problems, so he looks pretty decent by comparison.

One of the reasons I was skeptical of Mr. Pawlenty early on is that there seemed to be a lot of potential candidates who might fill the same niche, as a "safe" consensus choice acceptable to both moderates and conservatives. But John Thune isn't running; Mike Pence isn't running; Haley Barbour isn't running. There's no sign of Jeb Bush, Rick Perry, or Chris Christie. Mitch Daniels might run — but he doesn't have any more popular support than Mr. Pawlenty, and he is several months, at the very least, behind Mr. Pawlenty in his preparations. Jon Huntsman might run, but he's got a variety of positions that are going to make him unpopular with conservatives — whereas Mr. Pawlenty is positioned pretty close to the center of the Republican primary electorate.

However, while the Aggressive Model does have some theoretical appeal — and while it fits the historical data a tiny bit better than the Classical Model — it presents some potential issues. It really goes all-in on the assumption that a candidate cannot win unless he or she starts making preparations very early on, to the point of being considered viable enough by pollsters to be included in their surveys.

While it is true that no winning candidate in modern times has violated that paradigm, the data is not all that robust — just 15 nominally competitive primary races since 1972, of which only a handful have been as competitive as this one. That probably isn't enough to rule out the possibility that a late entrant could run away with things, and the Aggressive Model may be a bit overfit, meaning that it describes the historical data well but could be sub-par at making predictions.

So I think these two models work best when viewed in tandem.

For that matter, just as we did with the Classical Model, we can also run a version of the Aggressive Model based solely on polling data from April 1 onward:

Let's summarize these models and compare their results with the current betting lines at Intrade, a political futures market that captures the bettors' view of the candidates' current chances.

We can see some differences between our polling-based models and Intrade on several candidates:

- The models like Mr. Romney slightly more than the bettors do, although the difference is not large. Mr. Romney, in my view, has one major asset that is not well reflected in national polls, which is that he is strongly positioned in several early primary states (New Hampshire, Michigan, Nevada). He also has one major liability, the health care legislation enacted in Massachusetts while he was governor.
- All four of the polling models think Mike Huckabee is grossly undervalued by the bettors. I'll be writing more about Mr. Huckabee in the next week or two, so we'll leave it at that observation for now.
- The models also think that Newt Gingrich is undervalued. I've been a skeptic of Mr. Gingrich's chances, and widely known candidates who are getting only about 10 percent off the vote in polls have a very poor past record. At the same time, Mr. Gingrich is definitely running — and he has at least *some* popular support and at least *some* elite support. Even if you don't like a company's business model, there's some point at which its stock price becomes low enough for it to be a good buy; that's more or less how I feel about Mr. Gingrich right now.
- The models think Mr. Daniels is somewhat overvalued by the bettors, and that Mr. Huntsman is grossly so. Mr. Huntsman is the one I feel more confident saying that about. He's positioned pretty far to the left (relative to the Republican field) on a lot of issues, he's getting a late start on his campaign, and he served in President Obama's administration — in a foreign policy capacity, no less, an area where Mr. Obama should get high marks from voters. And Mr. Huntsman is averaging only about 1 percent in the polls so far. That's an awful lot to overcome, no matter how talented the politician.
- Although one version of the model thinks Mr. Trump is undervalued, the others think he's overvalued. Considering that about half of Republican voters have an unfavorable view of Mr. Trump, that he's now moving backward in the polls, that his signature issue was just taken off the table, that some of the policy positions he holds now bear no resemblance to the ones he held earlier in his career, and that he isn't certain to run, I'm not sure why the bettors at Intrade are giving him much of a chance at all. I don't like to rule things out categorically — you'll get burned if you do that too much. But while Mr. Trump's chances of winning the Republican nomination may not be *exactly* zero, they're pretty close.
- The models like Rick Santorum and Ron Paul more than the bettors do. Although Mr. Santorum and Mr. Paul don't share very many policy positions, they are parallel to one another in that both have strong appeal to one particular constituency within the Republican base — the religious right for Mr. Santorum, libertarians for Mr. Paul. But they don't have much breadth of appeal, so their upside is limited. Who knows: perhaps Mr. Santorum and (especially) Mr. Paul will have some impact on the race. But there aren't really any recent cases of candidates like these winning their party's nomination, or even coming particularly close — and the polling models are going to have trouble accounting for that sort of thing.

\*\*\*

The value of an approach like this is not that these models are infallible. Instead, they're a pretty rough cut, as revealed by the fact that relatively small changes in methodology can produce large shifts in the chances attributed to candidates like Mr. Trump or Mr. Pawlenty.

My contention, though, is that we'll both do a better job of handicapping and will have more productive conversations about the primaries if we start with the assumption that the polls tell us something rather than nothing.

(Stated far more technically, the polls are useful enough to serve as good Bayesian priors).

You want to argue that Jon Huntsman is a more likely Republican nominee than Mike Huckabee? That's fine. But know that, in the past, candidates who have polling numbers like Mr. Huckabee's have had a pretty good shot at their nominations, while those with Mr. Huntsman's profile have faced much longer odds — not just a little bit longer, but a lot longer. Maybe you can still win the argument, but it raises your burden of proof.

HUNTSMAN 2001

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# Exhibit 77

67 Alb. L. Rev. 89

Albany Law Review

2003

Article

**\*89 THE DESIGNATED NONPUBLIC FORUM: REMEDYING THE FORBES MISTAKE**

Tim Cramm<sup>a1</sup>

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Scholars say that 90% of the ideas that have shaped our democracy have come from third parties. These include a women's [sic] right to vote, abolition of slavery, and the minimum wage, all issues that had been ignored-- vehemently opposed, actually--by the two main parties. If we close out the debates to third party ideas, we are sounding the death knell for democracy.

-John Hagelin<sup>1</sup>

**I. Introduction**

In early 1998, former professional wrestler, movie star, and Navy SEAL Jesse "the Body" Ventura began to indicate that he intended to run in the Minnesota gubernatorial race. Ventura chose to run as a third party candidate: he had worked as a campaign manager for other Reform Party candidates in the past, and the Party felt he fit with the image of their founder, Texas maverick Ross Perot.<sup>2</sup> <PCITE, 67 Alb. L. Rev. 90>>While Ventura's name recognition and offbeat antics initially endeared him to many voters, by late September his support in the polls had dropped to only 10%: by contrast, Hubert Humphrey III, the frontrunner, was generating 49% support.<sup>3</sup>

A series of debates were scheduled to begin in early October. Despite Ventura's low support at the time, he was invited to participate, in large part because his staff chairman was also co-director of the "Minnesota Compact," a program geared toward improving the 1998 campaign (including the candidate debates).<sup>4</sup> As the debates went on, viewers warmed to Ventura's nonpartisan message railing against "politics as usual."<sup>5</sup> By October 20--less than three weeks after the first debate--Ventura's support had risen from 10% to 21%; meanwhile, Humphrey and his Republican foe, Norm Coleman, had fallen into a virtual dead heat.<sup>6</sup> One commentator noted that Humphrey's slide and Ventura's gain were both in large part due to their debate performances.<sup>7</sup>

The debates continued. After the final debate, held in a public television station in October, Ventura's support had risen again, to 27%.<sup>8</sup> By the election, Ventura captured the state governorship with 37% of the vote, while Humphrey finished last with only 28%.<sup>9</sup> The Humphrey camp openly acknowledged that their biggest mistake in the campaign was insisting that Ventura be included in the debates.<sup>10</sup> In the end, Ventura's camp admitted that, had he not <PCITE, 67 Alb. L. Rev. 91>>hit "a home run" in the first debate, his poll numbers likely never would have risen and he would not have been elected.<sup>11</sup>

Jesse Ventura's story may be the exception to the rule, but it makes an important point: had the stagers of the debate chosen to invite only the major party candidates, Ventura almost certainly would not have been elected. There is no stronger illustration of the importance of debates in today's political world--particularly for third party candidates lacking the strong financial and

# Exhibit 78

11/02/2014 10:00:00 AM







Eliot Cutler, Independent



Shawn Moody, Independent



Kevin Scott, Independent

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› The Maine Poll 2010: Taking the pulse of Maine's voters

Voters have had an opportunity to hear from gubernatorial candidates who would be in a position to effect change, she said, and one in five have not yet made a decision.

"I think it sort of augurs better for the independents, even though the independents didn't fare well in this poll," Fitzgerald said. "I expect this will change drastically over the next few weeks."

University of Maine political scientist Mark Brewer said 21 percent undecided is a "relatively big number six and a half weeks out."

"There's a lot of room for things to move here still," said Brewer. "I think that 21 percent really speaks to that."

And there may be even more voters out there looking around, he said. According to the poll, 69 percent of LePage's supporters are "definitely" voting for LePage, compared with 29 percent saying they "probably" will.

The pollsters found that 54 percent of Mitchell's supporters were definites, and 44 percent were probably supporting her.

And 25 percent of Cutler's supporters were definite, compared with 74 percent who would probably vote for him.

While LePage's supporters are "rock solid," Brewer said, support for Mitchell and Cutler is "not very solid." Those voters are mobile, he said.

"Mitchell's support is not as enthusiastic as Paul LePage's support," agreed Franz. "The good news for her is Eliot Cutler's support seems softer."

11/04/2014 11:00:11

Those numbers speak to the “enthusiasm gap” that’s been noted nationwide, he said, with high energy in the GOP, and less enthusiasm in Democratic circles.

LePage, Mitchell and Cutler may find information they can use in the poll results, said Franz.

The poll was taken Monday, the same day that LePage tussled with media over tax questions and his wife’s Maine residency status. So the poll doesn’t necessarily reflect that latest kerfuffle. But, Franz noted, the race has been hot through the summer, and LePage has been hit hard by other candidates and the Democratic Party, as well.

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“He’s not moving up, he’s not moving down, but that base of support is pretty stable,” said Franz. “It may be all he needs to win the election.”

Mitchell could target Cutler’s voters, said Franz, making the case that voting for the unenrolled candidate would help LePage.

The polls should tell Cutler that the “independent” message isn’t hitting home with voters.

“You really have less and less time with each passing day to make a dent in people’s mind,” said Franz. “And it just doesn’t seem to be working.”

The relative space between candidates didn’t shift much in this poll, compared with one released Sept. 8 by Public Policy Polling. The earlier poll had LePage 14 points ahead of Mitchell, and Mitchell 18 points ahead of Cutler.

The Maine Poll saw LePage with a 13 point lead over Mitchell. Mitchell was 14 points ahead of Cutler.

The earlier poll had an undecided pool of 12 percent. LePage led the field with 43 percent, followed by Mitchell at 29 percent, Cutler at 11 percent, Moody at 5 percent and Scott at 1 percent.

Staff Writer Matt Wickenheiser can be contacted at 791-6316 or at:

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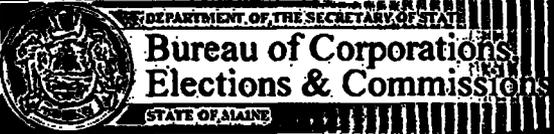
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**General Election Tabulations**

**November 2, 2010  
Governor  
by County and Town**

**County Totals**

To go to a particular county, select a link:

	Cutler, Eloit R. Cape Elizabeth Independent		LePage, Paul R. Waterville Republican		Mitchell, Elizabeth Libby Vassalboro Democrat		Moody, Shawn H. Gorham Independent		Scott, Kevin L. Andover Independent		Others		Blanks		Total Votes Cast	
<b>Androscoggin</b>	13,316	30.9%	18,007	41.8%	6,838	15.9%	1,566	3.6%	511	1.2%	1,638	3.8%	1,161	2.7%	43,037	100%
<b>Aroostook</b>	7,478	27.5%	11,353	41.8%	5,307	19.5%	2,030	7.5%	581	2.1%	3	0.0%	435	1.6%	27,187	100%
<b>Cumberland</b>	53,036	40.9%	38,984	30.1%	27,097	20.9%	8,423	6.5%	684	0.5%	197	0.2%	1,183	0.9%	129,604	100%
<b>Franklin</b>	4,495	32.4%	5,877	42.3%	2,571	18.5%	520	3.7%	183	1.3%	58	0.4%	177	1.3%	13,881	100%
<b>Hancock</b>	11,258	43.3%	9,056	34.9%	4,445	17.1%	774	3.0%	182	0.7%	8	0.0%	257	1.0%	25,980	100%
<b>Kennebec</b>	17,146	31.3%	23,567	43.0%	11,406	20.8%	1,482	2.7%	463	0.8%	157	0.3%	577	1.1%	54,798	100%
<b>Knox</b>	7,327	38.4%	6,830	35.8%	3,970	20.8%	442	2.3%	124	0.6%	8	0.0%	389	2.0%	19,090	100%
<b>Lincoln</b>	6,598	36.9%	7,195	40.2%	3,304	18.5%	516	2.9%	121	0.7%	20	0.1%	133	0.7%	17,888	100%
<b>Oxford</b>	8,416	31.7%	10,281	38.7%	4,659	17.5%	1,437	5.4%	805	3.0%	402	1.5%	556	2.1%	26,556	100%
<b>Penobscot</b>	24,150	39.4%	25,721	41.9%	8,253	13.5%	1,856	3.0%	515	0.8%	12	0.0%	810	1.3%	61,317	100%
<b>Piscataquis</b>	2,809	36.3%	3,724	48.1%	837	10.8%	235	3.0%	80	1.0%	1	0.0%	56	0.7%	7,742	100%
<b>Sagadahoc</b>	6,796	38.6%	6,495	36.8%	3,330	18.9%	647	3.7%	140	0.8%	40	0.2%	178	1.0%	17,626	100%
<b>Somerset</b>	6,814	32.7%	9,994	47.9%	2,703	13.0%	699	3.4%	243	1.2%	15	0.1%	391	1.9%	20,859	100%
<b>Waldo</b>	6,684	37.7%	7,088	40.0%	3,053	17.2%	614	3.5%	143	0.8%	7	0.0%	131	0.7%	17,720	100%
<b>Washington</b>	4,846	36.9%	5,586	42.5%	1,858	14.1%	475	3.6%	178	1.4%	3	0.0%	198	1.5%	13,144	100%
<b>York</b>	27,031	32.4%	28,103	33.7%	19,456	23.3%	7,026	8.4%	701	0.8%	53	0.1%	1,126	1.3%	83,496	100%
<b>UOCAVA Totals:</b>	70	11.4%	203	33.1%	300	48.9%	14	2.3%	10	1.6%	2	0.3%	14	2.3%	613	100%
<b>Statewide Totals:</b>	<b>208,270</b>	<b>35.9%</b>	<b>218,065</b>	<b>37.6%</b>	<b>109,387</b>	<b>18.8%</b>	<b>28,756</b>	<b>5.0%</b>	<b>5,664</b>	<b>1.0%</b>	<b>2,624</b>	<b>0.5%</b>	<b>7,772</b>	<b>1.3%</b>	<b>580,538</b>	<b>100%</b>

**ANDROSCOGGIN**

	Cutler, Eloit R. Cape Elizabeth Independent		LePage, Paul R. Waterville Republican		Mitchell, Elizabeth Libby Vassalboro Democrat		Moody, Shawn H. Gorham Independent		Scott, Kevin L. Andover Independent		Others		Blanks		Total Votes Cast	
<b>Auburn</b>	3,067	33.5%	3,452	37.7%	1,583	17.3%	297	3.2%	107	1.2%	537	5.9%	115	1.3%	9,158	100%
<b>Durham</b>	716	35.4%	851	42.0%	254	12.5%	77	3.8%	18	0.9%	14	0.7%	94	4.6%	2,024	100%
<b>Greene</b>	518	26.9%	960	49.8%	274	14.2%	89	4.6%	27	1.4%	43	2.2%	18	0.9%	1,929	100%
<b>Leeds</b>	282	29.3%	470	48.8%	138	14.3%	26	2.7%	8	0.8%	36	3.7%	3	0.3%	963	100%
<b>Lewiston</b>	3,681	30.0%	4,626	37.7%	2,435	19.9%	386	3.1%	127	1.0%	567	4.6%	440	3.6%	12,262	100%
<b>Lisbon</b>	1,196	30.5%	1,824	46.5%	522	13.3%	152	3.9%	75	1.9%	100	2.5%	53	1.4%	3,922	100%
<b>Livermore</b>	325	28.8%	467	41.3%	193	17.1%	46	4.1%	6	0.5%	16	1.4%	77	6.8%	1,130	100%
<b>Livermore Falls</b>	339	30.9%	427	39.0%	223	20.3%	38	3.5%	21	1.9%	30	2.7%	18	1.6%	1,096	100%
<b>Mechanic Falls</b>	388	27.3%	566	39.9%	172	12.1%	75	5.3%	27	1.9%	58	4.1%	134	9.4%	1,420	100%
<b>Minot</b>	371	28.9%	669	52.1%	119	9.3%	63	4.9%	12	0.9%	2	0.2%	49	3.8%	1,285	100%
<b>Poland</b>	900	34.6%	1,093	42.0%	344	13.2%	140	5.4%	31	1.2%	64	2.5%	30	1.2%	2,602	100%
<b>Sabatias</b>	596	29.6%	1,006	49.9%	240	11.9%	66	3.3%	22	1.1%	79	3.9%	6	0.3%	2,015	100%
<b>Turner</b>	769	30.1%	1,228	48.0%	281	11.0%	77	3.0%	22	0.9%	66	2.6%	114	4.5%	2,557	100%
<b>Wales</b>	168	24.9%	368	54.6%	60	8.9%	34	5.0%	8	1.2%	26	3.9%	10	1.5%	674	100%
<b>County Totals</b>	<b>13,316</b>	<b>30.9%</b>	<b>18,007</b>	<b>41.8%</b>	<b>6,838</b>	<b>15.9%</b>	<b>1,566</b>	<b>3.6%</b>	<b>511</b>	<b>1.2%</b>	<b>1,638</b>	<b>3.8%</b>	<b>1,161</b>	<b>2.7%</b>	<b>43,037</b>	<b>100%</b>

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**AROOSTOOK**

# Exhibit 80

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## Former Ala. Gov. George C. Wallace Dies

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Columnists [Carl Rowan](#) and [Colman McCarthy](#) wrote about Wallace's about-face on segregation.

Wallace [retired from politics](#) in 1987.

**26 Years Ago in The Post:** Wallace was [shot](#) at a 1972 rally in Laurel.

By *Richard Pearson*

Washington Post Staff Writer

Monday, September 14, 1998; Page A1

George C. Wallace, 79, the four-time governor of Alabama and four-time candidate for president of the United States who became known as the embodiment of resistance to the civil rights movement of the 1960s, died last night in Montgomery, Ala. He had battled Parkinson's disease in recent years.

Cut down by a would-be assassin's bullet in Laurel in 1972 while campaigning in Maryland's Democratic presidential primary, he spent the rest of his life in a wheelchair, paralyzed from the waist down. He was in and out of hospitals for treatment of his paralysis and the constant pain caused by the bullet that had injured his spinal cord.

Wallace entered Jackson Hospital on Thursday, suffering from breathing problems and septic shock caused by a severe bacterial infection. He also had been hospitalized this summer with similar problems. Wallace's son, George Wallace Jr., and one of his daughters, Peggy Wallace Kennedy, were at his side when he died.

Wallace was elected governor the first time in 1962, with what was the largest popular vote in state history and with the declaration: "I draw the line in the dust and toss the gauntlet before the feet of tyranny, and I say, segregation now, segregation tomorrow, segregation forever."

For the next 15 years he made a political career, usually on the national stage, as a man who opposed the advancement of rights for blacks, as well as the powers of the federal government. After notable clashes with Washington over school integration in Alabama, he took his campaign to the nation.

In 1964, Wallace was a candidate in several Democratic primaries, scoring what were then surprisingly large vote totals in such states as Maryland and Wisconsin. In 1968, he ran for



George Wallace campaigning in the '60s. (File Photo-The Post)

president on his own American Independent Party ticket, winning nearly 10 million votes, about 13 percent of the total, in a campaign in which he vilified blacks, students and people who called for an end to the war in Vietnam. He carried five Southern states and won 46 electoral votes.



Collection of Ken Rudin

In 1972, he returned to the Democratic Party fold and was a formidable candidate in that year's presidential primaries. As the most forceful national opponent of "forced busing" for school integration, he galvanized supporters who had never supported him before. But his campaign effectively ended in Laurel, when he was struck down by bullets from a gun fired by Arthur Bremer.

Nevertheless, he won primaries in North Carolina, Michigan, Maryland, Florida, Tennessee and Florida. He no longer could be dismissed as a mere regional candidate.

Wallace returned to the presidential trail, for the last time, in 1976. A near-wraith, his roar of defiance was diminished by both physical limitations and time. National racial tension was, arguably, lessening and Vietnam was no longer a burning issue. His battle cry to the voters of "send them a message!" fell on increasingly unreceptive ears.



Collection of Ken Rudin

Wallace ended up endorsing former Georgia governor Jimmy Carter, who went on to defeat Republican Gerald R. Ford for the presidency in 1976.

If Wallace's presidential campaigns all ended in defeat, few really thought he had any serious chance. On the other hand, he strode the Alabama political stage like a colossus for over a quarter-of-a-century.

Forbidden to run by law for re-election as governor in 1966, he saw his first wife, Lurleen, elected governor in his stead. She died in office, of cancer, two years later. In 1970, he defeated her successor and won a second four-year term as governor. In 1974, with state law changed, he was elected governor a third time. He stepped down in 1979.

In 1982, he ran for governor a fourth time. In a watershed moment, he admitted that he had been wrong about "race" all along. He was elected by a coalition represented by blacks, organized labor and forces seeking to advance public education. In that race, he carried all 10 of the state's counties with a majority black population, nine of them by a better than two-to-one margin. He retired four years later, an increasingly remote and physically tormented man.

"We thought [segregation] was in the best interests of all concerned. We were mistaken," he told a black group in 1982. "The Old South is gone," but "the New South is still opposed to government regulation of our lives."

Wallace came to national prominence in 1963 when he kept a campaign pledge to stand "in the schoolhouse door" to block integration of Alabama public schools. On June 11, 1963, he personally barred the path of two black students attempting to register at the University of Alabama. The governor was flanked by armed state troopers. He defied federal Justice Department orders to admit the students, James A. Hood and Vivian J. Malone.

President Kennedy federalized the Alabama National Guard and ordered some of its units to the university campus. Wallace stood aside and the black students were allowed to register for classes.

In September 1963, Wallace ordered state police to Huntsville, Mobile, Tuskegee and Birmingham to prevent public schools from opening, following a federal court order to integrate Alabama schools. Helmeted and heavily armed state police and state National Guard units kept students and faculty from entering schools. Following civil disturbances resulting in at least one death, President Kennedy again nationalized the Guard and saw the schools integrated.

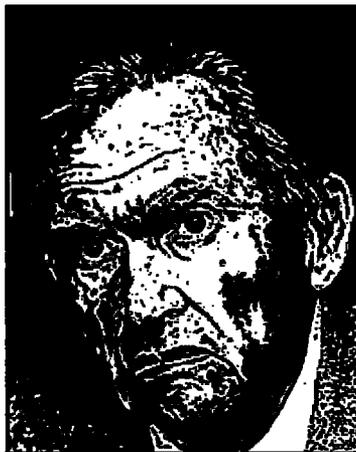
On March 7, 1965, state troopers with dogs, whips and tear gas tangled blacks during a voter registration campaign who were marching from Selma to Montgomery. The violence, which an entire nation witnessed on television, helped mobilize enough support to enable President Johnson to win passage of the landmark 1965 Voting Rights Act.

In 1964, Wallace campaigned as a Democratic candidate for president and attempted to explain himself outside the south. He said he opposed the growing powers of the federal government, especially the courts and the bureaucracy, which he held up to ridicule. He pointed out that federal judges and bureaucrats had been elected by no one and were increasingly usurping powers of the individuals and states. He portrayed them as underworked self-important "pointy-headed" intellectuals who had their heads in the clouds and their lunches in their trademark attache cases.

By 1968, Wallace was a true national figure who had become the leading spokesman of forces opposed to civil rights. As a third party candidate, he opposed Republican Richard M. Nixon and Democrat Hubert H. Humphrey in the general election, maintaining that there was not a "dime's worth of difference" between the two.

George Corley Wallace was born Aug. 25, 1919 in Clio, Ala. He grew up working on the family farm.

In 1958, after serving in World War II, as assistant state attorney general in Alabama and two terms in the state legislature, Wallace ran his first race for governor and was defeated by John Patterson in the Democratic primary by a vote of 314,000 to 250,000. He later attributed this to being "out-segged" by his opponent. He vowed that in any future contest, that he would be the loudest and most impassioned voice calling for racial segregation.



George Wallace in 1995. (AP File Photo)

He won the governorship in 1962.

According to a Saturday Evening Post story, he "campaign[ed] like a one-man army at war with the Federal government." If he did not abandon his populist calls for helping the poor through education and health care, those calls became a distant second to his harping on the racial issue.

The sad fact is that from first to last, despite the sound and the fury of Wallace's campaigning, little changed for the good in Alabama with his help. Throughout all his years in office, Alabama rated near the bottom of the states in per capita income, welfare, and spending on schools and pupils.

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## John Anderson: The Nice Guy Syndrome

HE'S WASHINGTON'S FAVORITE REPUBLICAN—BRIGHT, INDEPENDENT, ARTICULATE, THOUGHTFUL. THEN WHY DOES NOBODY GIVE HIS CANDIDACY A CHANCE?

By *Walter Shapiro*

One evening in early November, in the middle of a three-day campaign trip through New Hampshire and Maine with John Anderson, the ten-term congressman from Rockford, Illinois who somehow believes that he can become the first liberal Republican presidential nominee since Wendell Willkie, a reporter overheard a perplexing snatch of conversation between Anderson and his wife, Keke.

The Andersons sat in the front of a rented car, talking softly to other, seemingly oblivious to two reporters in the back seat. They had just left a restaurant reception where a paper salesman had asked Anderson why he was making this race for President. Anderson's answer had been perfectly acceptable: "I think the process of running for President is debilitating and demeaning, but the job would be exciting—charting a course for the nation." The conversation now seemed to trouble Anderson.

In the car, he said to his wife, "I keep hearing the question the guy in the restaurant asked: 'Why are you running for President? It's such a terrible job.' I wish I had a better answer."

Keke Anderson replied, "It's easy, John. You know why you decided you should run. Someone must address our pressing national problems."

"That's no answer," he said. "Jimmy Carter said that last time and look what he's done to reduce confidence in government. Why should they believe me this time?"

"John, stop selling yourself short," she said. "People know who you are and what you've done. Maybe not here in New Hampshire. But there are pockets of support."

Anderson said, almost to himself, "It's a tough question to answer. I just don't know."

There is an artificial quality to this conversation, almost as if it were a little domestic set piece designed to impress visiting reporters. Anderson's words were in perfect harmony with most of his previous actions, and yet, a gnawing feeling persists that no one can be as consistently high-minded and earnest as John Anderson appears to be.

These days, Anderson is Washington's favorite Republican. He has all the qualities that those who lie awake nights worrying over the fate of the republic want in a President. He is bright, articulate, independent, and thoughtful. Over the last decade or so, he has won a series of editorial plaudits for his

courageous 1968 vote in support of open housing, his early criticisms of Richard Nixon over Watergate, his battles on behalf of campaign spending reform, and his current proposal, the centerpiece of his presidential campaign, for a 50-cents-a-gallon gasoline tax to discourage consumption. Anderson appeals to that elitist strain among Washington thinkers which asks the great unwashed of the electorate to send forth statesmen, not grasping, ambitious politicians.

Because of these qualities—or in spite of them—Anderson is as close as the politics of 1980 comes to a sure thing: he will lose his race for the Republican nomination—and he will probably lose badly.

Anderson's appeal is similar to that of his close friend and Democratic House colleague Morris Udall, who narrowly lost so many primaries to Jimmy Carter in 1976 that he became known as "second-place Mo." With little money, and virtually no base in the increasingly conservative Republican party, Anderson may very well come to bear the sobriquet "sixth-place John."

His hapless campaign is evidence to support those who have lamented over the way we choose our Presidents. It is difficult to find a parallel to Anderson—an active candidate for President who has the experience and the ability to serve well, who has the stage presence and the long record of public service to be elected, and yet has little chance of surviving even the early primaries.

Anderson makes little effort to hide his frustration. He displays the manner of a candidate who is banking on a strong personal sense of irony to see him through a difficult few months. In early November, he visited an electronics plant in Manchester, New Hampshire, where the plant manager had on his office wall more than thirty autographed pictures of presidential candidates who had toured the factory in recent years. Anderson dutifully went through the motions of shaking hands with bored workers, who viewed the candidate with all the curiosity that natives of New Guinea extend to the 103rd anthropologist to study them. In the midst of this, Anderson whispered, "Isn't this a ridiculous way to pick the man who will lead the country?"

The following morning, a Friday, he was in Portland, Maine, seated in the audience for a Republican dinner, at which Henry Kissinger was the featured speaker. The crowd was a reminder of the geriatric appeal of the Republican party—half of them seemed old enough to have voted for Alf Landon in 1936. Anderson looked up from his dinner of baked chicken and said, "This is a hellhole. I would sneak out, but I'm afraid they are going to introduce me and someone would notice I was gone."

The Maine dinner was a prelude to another of those Saturday Republican "cattle shows" where all the GOP contenders—except Ronald Reagan, who boycotted them until he formally declared his candidacy—make brief speeches to the assembled throng, who then cast ballots for their favorites in a straw poll. This one was supposedly wired for Senator Howard Baker, who had the support of the newly elected Maine Republican senator, William Cohen. When he was in the House, Cohen was something of a protégé of Anderson's, and this breach of loyalty—one of many Anderson has suffered in Congress—rankles.

On Saturday, driving through pouring rain to give his speech to the Republican convocation, Anderson affected a jaunty manner. "I'm approaching this great event with great aplomb," he said. "I know I'm going to lose. And, in the immortal words of Rhett Butler, "Frankly, I don't give damn."

Fifteen minutes later, Anderson was standing on the podium before 1000 Maine Republicans. His

physical appearance was distinctive—a thin but erect fifty-seven-year-old body shadowed by heavy glasses and a crop of totally white hair. David Emery, thirty-one-year-old local Republican congressman and one of Anderson's two active supporters in the House, was supposed to introduce him, but he was nowhere to be found.

Before a large crowd, Anderson can be a fiery speaker, with perfect timing and a voice that rises and falls for emphasis, even though in ordinary conversation he sounds more like Jason Robards than William Jennings Bryan. This time, Anderson pulled out all the rhetorical stops, but it did not quiet the steady undertone of conversation. He carried on gamely even when his voice grew raspy and hoarse midway through the twenty-minute speech.

His words are worth noting since they provided a strong counterpoint to the conservative shibboleths of contemporary Republican politics. A few excerpts help capture both his rhetorical style and the liberal alternative he is trying to offer GOP voters.

*On leadership:* "It will take more than hortatory expressions about leadership to restore our flagging national fortunes. The next President will not be able, like the legendary King Canute, to stretch out his hands and command economic tides to stand still."

*On defense:* "About 400 of our warheads could destroy 70 percent of Soviet industry and, in the process, kill 75 million Soviet citizens ... Let us strengthen our commitment to a strong NATO, but let us not be totally overcome with a new missile madness that yields to the mindless renewal of unrestricted competition in building ever new strategic systems."

*On energy:* "Today, under the present administration, we seem to be very quietly and very submissively paying tribute to the extortionist demands of the OPEC oil ministers. I have suggested that rather than permitting them the privilege ... we should be willing to tax the consumption of gasoline in this country." (This is a reference to what Anderson calls his "50/50 plan"—a 50-cent gas tax to pay for a 50 percent reduction in Social Security taxes. With scant credit to Anderson, the Carter Administration is now seriously considering this proposal.)

There are other issues in Anderson's campaign—some of which he obviously did not want to impress upon a conservative audience. His is a lonely voice among Republican presidential candidates in support of the SALT II treaty and in opposition to the MX missile. He endorses President Carter's call for a windfall profits tax on the oil industry. He has also consciously aligned himself with the feminist movement. He talks about "marching through the streets of Manchester for abortion rights," but worries that the feminists will do little more than "applaud and tell me how courageous I am. I expect more than that. They've got to get busy and do something for *me*. I hope I'm not disappointed."

Despite these liberal positions, Anderson is not in the wrong political party. In 1978, he voted with organized labor less than 40 percent of the time. He believes in the deregulation of natural gas and crude oil prices. He follows most of the standard Republican line on the economy, believing in the therapeutic value of a balanced budget, voting for the Kemp-Roth tax cut bill, and calling for new business tax incentives to encourage capital formation.

Less than an hour after his Maine speech, Anderson was back in his Holiday Inn room, watching the rain cascade down over a grimy section of Portland. He was upset, both with losing his voice for only

the second time in his political career and with the inattention of his audience.

Gesturing angrily, he asked a series of rhetorical questions: "How do you get them to listen? Is this what our politics has come to? Is it wrong to think that they might remember something you said? That's the whole purpose of my campaign."

Later that afternoon, the results of the straw ballot were announced. The big news, which was a lead article in the following day's *New York Times*, was that George Bush had upset the Baker bandwagon. Buried in the story was the fact that John Anderson received exactly six votes—less than 0.5 percent of those cast.

Anderson's frustrations on the campaign trail are mirrored by his recent career in the House of Representatives as a pariah in his own party. Several of his colleagues describe him as "burnt out" after eighteen years in the minority. Anderson himself admits "I think I had contributed everything I could in the House. There really wasn't much left I could do given the growing conservative complexion of Republicans in the House." Morris Udall, who has worked closely with Anderson on campaign reform and environmental issues, put it this way: "I can't see John with his idealism, sticking around here and growing old, year after year, a minority within a minority."

For years conservatives have complained that the candidates they elect grow more and more liberal as they are exposed to the sinister influences of Washington. Anderson's career in the House supports this theory.

The son of an immigrant Swedish grocer, Anderson was an orthodox Republican when he was elected to the House in 1960, from a safe Republican district in northwestern Illinois. He was a thirty-eight-year-old lawyer with an LL.M. degree from Harvard who had been in the Foreign Service in Berlin in the early 1950s and who was at the time of his election, a local district attorney.

Throughout the 1960s, he prospered in the House, winning tangible rewards for his fidelity to Republican principles. In 1964, he was given a coveted seat on the Rules Committee. In 1969, his colleagues elected him chairman of the Republican Conference, the number-three leadership job in the House.

The event that triggered Anderson's current state of apostasy was his decision to switch his vote on the Rules Committee and prevent the gutting of the 1968 civil rights bill outlawing housing discrimination. The vote came in the time of turmoil that followed the assassination of Martin Luther King and the ensuing rioting.

Anderson recalls his "anguish" as he was torn between a belief "in the sacrosanct right of private property" and his late-blooming concern over "the invidious discrimination that was occurring in the sale and leasing of housing." There was, however, nothing halfhearted in the way he decided to cast with the civil rights movement. "I legislate today not out of fear, but out of deep concern for the America I love," he said in a speech on the House floor, which is credited with changing some Republican votes.

Anderson's horror over the Nixon Administration's bombing of Cambodia was the catalyst for a similar change in his foreign policy views. "I still recall it very vividly," he said. "I remember as a member of the leadership being told about it. That was a kind of watershed in my thinking, too. I look back on the

whole Vietnam era with no particular satisfaction. I wish I had been prescient."

These events, and many other dramatic episodes, widened the cleavage between Anderson and his Republican colleagues. One veteran midwestern conservative, with a good deal of personal affection for Anderson, explained the bitterness of the younger conservatives. "If John has one weakness, he said, "it's that he tends to have a thin skin. When some of the conservatives have criticized him, he shot back in kind. He's had some verbal clashes with them. As a result he's developed a chip-on-the-shoulder attitude toward conservatives."

Since 1973, Anderson has had to beat back three right-wing challenges to his House leadership position. He had a serious re-election fight until 1978, when he was challenged in the Republican primary by a fundamentalist minister, Donald Lyon, who described Anderson as a turncoat conservative who now "comes back talking like some god of the East." It was, in Anderson's words, a "blood campaign," revolving around such emotional issues as abortion and prayer in the schools. The Republican establishment—Gerald Ford and Henry Kissinger among them—rallied to Anderson's defense and campaigned for him. Anderson won, but Lyon received 42 cent of the primary vote. The recognition that he no longer had a safe seat was a major factor in his decision to retire from the House and pass up a 1980 Senate race to make this bid for the Republican nomination.

Anderson's problem is that whether he is on the House floor or on the campaign trail, most of the kind words for his presidential ambitions come from Democrats. Udall, who calls Anderson "an exceptional person," said that he "encouraged him to get into the presidential race." In fact, Udall almost wrote a fund-raising letter for Anderson to New England environmentalists, but finally decided it was too much of an affront to traditional party politics. Paul Findley, an Illinois Republican who wears an Anderson button on the House floor, said, "it engenders a lot of favorable comments—especially from Democrats."

Keke, that's why John is running for President, she's a kook," was the assessment of one House Republican. There is a glimmer of truth here. Keke Anderson, the daughter of Greek immigrants, grew up in Boston. She married John twenty-seven years ago, when he was in the Foreign Service and she was working for the passport office in the State Department. They have five children who, as she puts it, "range in age from the sandbox to Sartre." She is not only her husband's most devoted supporter but also the kind of feisty, independent political wife who gives campaign managers apoplexy.

At a dinner stop in Hillsborough, New Hampshire, a local reporter asked her, "Mrs. Anderson, what would you focus on if you were First Lady?" It is the inevitable question for a candidate's wife, and the answers are invariably innocuous—help retarded children, the arts, and so forth. Keke Anderson began, "I would work to turn our nation's psychology away from building more and more bombs. As a mother of five ... " and she went on from there, sounding more like an organizer for the Women's Strike for Peace than the loyal wife of a Republican presidential candidate.

Anderson chimes in, his voice thick with irony, "Careful, Keke, you're sounding like a peacenik. You know America has to arm to the teeth."

The reporter, who had recently interviewed a more traditional political wife, said, "Mrs. Bush doesn't contradict her husband."

"No dull marriage this," responded Mrs. Anderson.

Anderson took a puff on his Tiparillo and said, "It's about time the Republicans had a peace candidate. They had Gene McCarthy. I'm so sick of the people in my party who think in military terms."

The conversation then shifted to political wives in general, and someone volunteered that most of them are spontaneous as Barbie dolls. Anderson took another puff and said, "Well, I'm no Ken."

Despite his sense of humor, there is a stiff, almost priggish, side to Anderson's personality. He acknowledges it, even half apologizes for it. Listen to him explain why he is running. "As self-serving as it sounds, I guess a little bit pretentious, maybe pompous, you feel that you have learned something after twenty years' participation in national affairs."

Some of this self-righteousness may be attributable to his very strict religious upbringing. Anderson, who has a picture of Jesus Christ on the wall his congressional office, belongs to the Evangelical Free Church, a small Protestant denomination started by Scandinavian immigrants in the 1880's, which he describes as "very conservative theology, fundamentalist and all the rest." His religious beliefs are "very important," he said. "Your beliefs in later life have got to be influenced and shaped by the experiences you had as a child."

Anderson, however, bristles at any comparison between his religious orientation and that of Jimmy Carter. I would not [have tried] to convert Park Chung Hee, a Buddhist, to Christianity while riding in a taxicab with him," he said. "I never went on any preaching missions for my church."

In religion, as in politics, Anderson is a loner. He seems to delight in urging fundamentalists to take a more liberal stance on social issues. In 1970, he examined the roots of social conservatism among fundamentalists in a scholarly essay which was his contribution to a collection he edited, *Congress and Conscience*. In an address to the US Association of Evangelicals 1976, Anderson said, "As evangelicals you are concerned about abortion, amnesty and drug abuse as things that are really tearing down the moral fiber of our society, as they are. But too often you forget you must also be interested in other issues that have moral implications—like the more equal treatment of people in our society, and the problems of unemployment, poverty, and hunger."

Anderson acknowledges he has won few converts among Protestant fundamentalists. As he told one of his local coordinators in New Hampshire, "I do very well with Unitarians, much better than with my own fundamentalist church."

Anderson's campaign strategy has a thread of inner logic. It focuses on four early primaries New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Illinois, and Wisconsin. Anderson's professed goal is to finish in the top three in both New England primaries, then go on to make a strong second-place showing against Reagan in Illinois and do well in Wisconsin. His campaign manager, Dan Swillinger, a veteran of the liberal Republican Ripon Society, talks bravely about going into the convention with a bloc of 400 or 500 delegates.

Traditionally, about 20 percent of the 110,000 Republicans who vote in the New Hampshire primary support liberal candidates. If Anderson could capture half of them—a paltry 11,000 votes—the press, for whom he is a sentimental favorite, could give him enough free publicity to carry him on to the later primaries.

His problem is that Baker and Bush, particularly Bush, have corralled most of the moderate wing of the Republican party. There are strong differences between Anderson and Bush/Baker on such issues as SALT, defense spending, and energy, but Anderson has not been successful at exploiting them. Instead, he has grown waspish in his assessment of those Republicans who offer his candidacy kind words but no visible support, among them moderate Republican governors: "I think their nerve has failed. I frankly have become contemptuous of the so-called moderates."

He is also short of campaign cash. As of the end of November, he had raised only \$400,000, about half of which came from Illinois. It is fitting that Anderson, one of the architects of the law providing federal funding of presidential campaigns, is banking on qualifying for matching money by January. If he succeeds, it could mean an additional \$400,000 to pay for a respectable media campaign in New Hampshire and Massachusetts.

Anderson, however, is hedging some bets. He refuses to go into debt to pay for his foray into presidential politics.

As he explains, "I have borrowed money to stay in Congress. I am not going to add to those debts. I put a very high priority on the education of my children. I have two in college and two more to go. I've never been rich, I don't expect to be rich, I don't want to be rich, but I certainly don't want to end up in the poorhouse either."

As the New Hampshire primary nears, John Anderson continues his lonely campaign, preaching to small audiences about the need for a stiff gasoline tax and an end to "missile madness." These are serious issues, more substantive than those raised thus far by other candidates, but they lack the emotional intensity to sustain a noble lost cause. Playing political Don Quixote is for single-issue zealots, not for responsible moderates such as Anderson, even when they are bursting with intelligent ideas.

Ultimately, what is most enigmatic about Anderson is why he is putting himself through this ordeal. There are some reasons—his isolation within Congress, the urgings of his wife, the gamble that he can transmit to the voters those qualities that Washington finds so admirable—but taken together they do not add up to a convincing rationale. Perhaps the best explanation is also the simplest. John Anderson is running for President, and is willing risk looking foolish in the process cause he is convinced, with some justice that he can do a better job than anyone else in the race.

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# Exhibit 82

**1968 Presidential General Election Data - National**

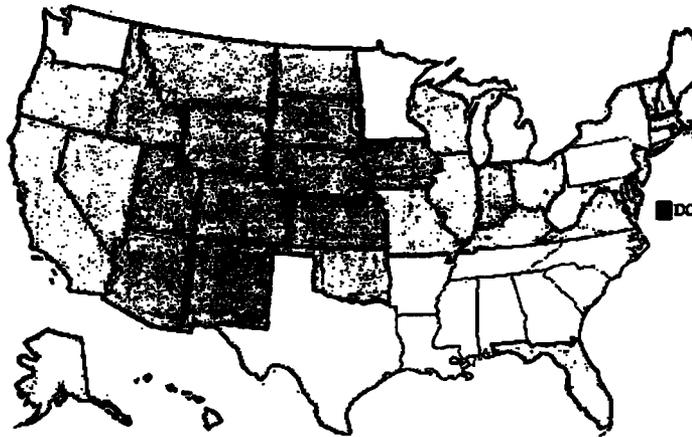
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by State



State	EV	EV	EV	Total Vote	N	H	W	Margin	%Margin	Nixon	Humphrey	Wallace	Other	Nixon	Humphrey	Wallace	Other
Alabama	0	0	10	1,049,917	3	2	1	494,846	47.13%	13.99%	18.72%	65.86%	1.43%	146,923	196,579	691,425	14,990
Alaska	3	0	0	83,035	1	2	3	2,189	2.64%	45.28%	42.65%	12.07%	0.00%	37,600	35,411	10,024	0
Arizona	5	0	0	486,936	1	2	3	96,207	19.76%	54.78%	35.02%	9.56%	0.64%	266,721	170,514	46,573	3,128
Arkansas	0	0	6	609,590	2	3	1	46,565	7.64%	31.01%	30.33%	38.65%	0.00%	189,062	184,901	235,627	0
California	40	0	0	7,251,587	1	2	3	223,346	3.08%	47.82%	44.74%	6.72%	0.72%	3,467,664	3,244,318	487,270	52,335
Colorado	6	0	0	811,199	1	2	3	74,171	9.14%	50.46%	41.32%	7.50%	0.72%	409,345	335,174	60,813	5,867
Connecticut	0	8	0	1,256,232	2	1	3	64,840	5.16%	44.32%	49.48%	6.10%	0.10%	556,721	621,561	76,650	1,300
Delaware	3	0	0	214,367	1	2	3	7,520	3.51%	45.12%	41.61%	13.28%	0.00%	96,714	89,194	28,459	0
D. C.	0	3	0	170,578	2	1	0	108,554	63.64%	18.18%	81.82%	0.00%	0.00%	31,012	139,566	0	0
Florida	14	0	0	2,187,805	1	2	3	210,010	9.60%	40.53%	30.93%	28.53%	0.00%	886,804	676,794	624,207	0
Georgia	0	0	12	1,250,266	2	3	1	155,439	12.43%	30.40%	26.75%	42.83%	0.01%	380,111	334,440	535,550	165
Hawaii	0	4	0	236,218	2	1	3	49,899	21.12%	38.70%	59.83%	1.47%	0.00%	91,425	141,324	3,469	0
Idaho	4	0	0	291,183	1	2	3	76,096	26.13%	56.79%	30.66%	12.55%	0.00%	165,369	89,273	36,541	0
Illinois	26	0	0	4,619,749	1	2	3	134,960	2.92%	47.08%	44.15%	8.46%	0.31%	2,174,774	2,039,814	390,958	14,203
Indiana	13	0	0	2,123,597	1	2	3	261,226	12.30%	50.29%	37.99%	11.45%	0.28%	1,067,885	806,659	243,108	5,945
Iowa	9	0	0	1,167,931	1	2	3	142,407	12.19%	53.01%	40.82%	5.69%	0.49%	619,106	476,699	66,422	5,704
Kansas	7	0	0	872,783	1	2	3	175,678	20.13%	54.84%	34.72%	10.19%	0.25%	478,674	302,996	88,921	2,192
Kentucky	9	0	0	1,055,893	1	2	3	64,870	6.14%	43.79%	37.65%	18.29%	0.27%	462,411	397,541	193,098	2,843
Louisiana	0	0	10	1,097,450	3	2	1	220,685	20.11%	23.47%	28.21%	48.32%	0.00%	257,535	309,615	530,300	0
Maine	0	4	0	392,936	2	1	3	48,058	12.23%	43.07%	55.30%	1.62%	0.00%	169,254	217,312	6,370	0
Maryland	0	10	0	1,235,039	2	1	3	20,315	1.64%	41.94%	43.59%	14.47%	0.00%	517,995	538,310	178,734	0
Massachusetts	0	14	0	2,331,752	2	1	3	702,374	30.12%	32.89%	63.01%	3.73%	0.37%	766,844	1,469,218	87,088	8,602
Michigan	0	21	0	3,306,250	2	1	3	222,417	6.73%	41.46%	48.18%	10.04%	0.32%	1,370,665	1,593,082	331,968	10,535
Minnesota	0	10	0	1,588,510	2	1	3	199,095	12.53%	41.46%	54.00%	4.34%	0.20%	658,643	857,738	68,931	3,198
Mississippi	0	0	7	654,509	3	2	1	264,705	40.44%	13.52%	23.02%	63.46%	0.00%	88,516	150,644	415,349	0
Missouri	12	0	0	1,809,502	1	2	3	20,488	1.13%	44.87%	43.74%	11.39%	0.00%	811,932	791,444	206,126	0
Montana	4	0	0	274,404	1	2	3	24,718	9.01%	50.60%	41.59%	7.29%	0.52%	138,835	114,117	20,015	1,437
Nebraska	5	0	0	536,851	1	2	3	150,379	28.01%	59.82%	31.81%	8.36%	0.00%	321,163	170,784	44,904	0
Nevada	3	0	0	154,218	1	2	3	12,590	8.16%	47.46%	39.29%	13.25%	0.00%	73,188	60,598	20,432	0
New Hampshire	4	0	0	297,299	1	2	3	24,314	8.18%	52.10%	43.93%	3.76%	0.21%	154,903	130,589	11,173	634
New Jersey	17	0	0	2,875,395	1	2	3	61,261	2.13%	46.10%	43.97%	9.12%	0.82%	1,325,467	1,264,206	262,187	23,535
New Mexico	4	0	0	327,281	1	2	3	39,611	12.10%	51.85%	39.75%	7.86%	0.54%	169,692	130,081	25,737	1,771

New York	0	43	0	6,790,066	2	1	3	370,538	5.46%	44.30%	49.76%	5.29%	0.66%	3,007,932	3,378,470	358,864	44,800
North Carolina	12	0	1	1,587,493	1	3	2	131,004	8.25%	39.51%	29.24%	31.26%	0.00%	627,192	464,113	496,188	0
North Dakota	4	0	0	247,882	1	2	3	43,900	17.71%	55.94%	38.23%	5.75%	0.08%	138,669	94,769	14,244	200
Ohio	26	0	0	3,959,698	1	2	3	90,428	2.28%	45.23%	42.95%	11.81%	0.02%	1,791,014	1,700,586	467,495	603
Oklahoma	8	0	0	943,086	1	2	3	148,039	15.70%	47.68%	31.99%	20.33%	0.00%	449,697	301,658	191,731	0
Oregon	6	0	0	819,622	1	2	3	49,567	6.05%	49.83%	43.78%	6.06%	0.32%	408,433	358,866	49,683	2,640
Pennsylvania	0	29	0	4,747,928	2	1	3	169,388	3.57%	44.02%	47.59%	7.97%	0.42%	2,090,017	2,259,405	378,582	19,924
Rhode Island	0	4	0	385,000	2	1	3	124,159	32.25%	31.78%	64.03%	4.07%	0.12%	122,359	246,518	15,678	445
South Carolina	8	0	0	666,982	1	3	2	38,632	5.79%	38.09%	29.61%	32.30%	0.00%	254,062	197,486	215,430	4
South Dakota	4	0	0	281,264	1	2	3	31,818	11.31%	53.27%	41.96%	4.76%	0.00%	149,841	118,023	13,400	0
Tennessee	11	0	0	1,248,617	1	3	2	47,800	3.83%	37.85%	28.13%	34.02%	0.00%	472,592	351,233	424,792	0
Texas	0	25	0	3,079,406	2	1	3	38,960	1.27%	39.87%	41.14%	18.97%	0.02%	1,227,844	1,266,804	584,269	489
Utah	4	0	0	422,568	1	2	3	82,063	19.42%	56.49%	37.07%	6.37%	0.06%	238,728	156,665	26,906	269
Vermont	3	0	0	161,404	1	2	3	14,887	9.22%	52.75%	43.53%	3.16%	0.56%	85,142	70,255	5,104	903
Virginia	12	0	0	1,361,491	1	2	3	147,932	10.87%	43.36%	32.49%	23.64%	0.51%	590,319	442,387	321,833	6,952
Washington	0	9	0	1,304,281	2	1	3	27,527	2.11%	45.12%	47.23%	7.44%	0.21%	588,510	616,037	96,990	2,744
West Virginia	0	7	0	754,206	2	1	3	66,536	8.82%	40.78%	49.60%	9.62%	0.00%	307,555	374,091	72,560	0
Wisconsin	12	0	0	1,691,538	1	2	3	61,193	3.62%	47.89%	44.27%	7.56%	0.29%	809,997	748,804	127,835	4,902
Wyoming	3	0	0	127,205	1	2	3	25,754	20.25%	55.76%	35.51%	8.73%	0.00%	70,927	45,173	11,105	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>301</b>	<b>191</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>73,199,999</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>511,944</b>	<b>0.70%</b>	<b>43.42%</b>	<b>42.72%</b>	<b>13.53%</b>	<b>0.33%</b>	<b>31,783,783</b>	<b>31,271,839</b>	<b>9,901,118</b>	<b>243,259</b>

Sources:

- Source for State popular vote data: Official publications from state election agencies. Complete list of sources for the 1968 popular vote data

National Results for 1968

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**Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data**

Let America Decide: the report of the Twentieth Century Fund Task Force on Presidential Debates : with a background paper / by Anthony Corrado.

p. cm.

Includes index.

ISBN 0-87078-381-5

1. Presidents-United States-Election. 2. Presidents-United States-Election-1992. 3. Campaign debates-United States. 4. Television in politics-United States. I. Corrado, Anthony. 1957-

II. Twentieth Century Fund. Task Force on Presidential Debates.

JK524 .F33 1996

95-47694

324.7-dc20

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Cover design and illustration: Claude Goodwin  
Manufactured in the United States of America.

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UNIVERSITY MICROFILMS

In 1992, a phenomenon that had played an important role in the 1980 debates, the emergence of a strong third-party candidate, along with changes in the format of debates raised novel and difficult issues for the Commission. Against this backdrop, the Trustees of the Fund, in 1993, decided that it was time to revisit this subject and authorized a new task force. While many of the issues discussed in the past are addressed in the pages that follow, the Task Force Report assumes one fundamental difference in the situation today: the concept of debates among the major presidential candidates has become deeply rooted in our politics. It seems quite unlikely that a major candidate would find it worthwhile to endure the opprobrium that accompanied a refusal to meet other challengers. But once the issue of whether or not debates will take place at all is off the table, questions about what kind of debates work best, what the public really wants, who should be included, and what the debates really accomplish are more significant than ever.

The Task Force also focused considerable attention on the existing Presidential Debate Commission. While one might imagine alternative institutional arrangements for organizing the debates themselves, the fact is that the Commission has actually functioned for the last two presidential campaigns and already has proposed a format for 1996. To be sure, in its present incarnation it has limits, and these are addressed in the Report of the Task Force. But the Task Force recognized the overwhelming practical benefit of the Commission's experience and legitimacy and recommended ways to strengthen its operations, rather than calling for an alternative mechanism.

The Task Force recognized that, at least given the current conventional wisdom, public preferences about what constitutes a "good" debate have shifted. The celebration of the so-called town meeting debate format in 1992 and the positive reaction to the single-moderator approach imply a basic rethinking of the role (if any) of journalists in the debates. In addition, in the age of instant polls and focus groups, the group discussed the trend toward using these devices more and more intrusively as part of debate coverage. There is a serious possibility, for example, that a network may tell us how a select group of people are reacting to the debate even as it is taking place. Would such a victory for technology be in the public interest?

Perhaps it is unavoidable, even preferable, that the future of debates will be shaped by technological and market changes in the media environment. The question then is will the debates live up to

same criticisms would become even more pronounced after each of the debates conducted over the next two election cycles.

## THE 1984 DEBATES

On November 8, 1983, the Federal Communications Commission, despite objections from the League of Women Voters, finally loosened its restrictions on debate sponsorship by broadening its Aspen ruling to allow broadcast networks to serve as debate sponsors without triggering the equal time provision.<sup>64</sup> The decision prompted a number of national networks and local broadcasters to sponsor 1984 primary debates among the Democratic challengers, but the networks made no attempt to sponsor general election debates. This task was once again left to the League of Women Voters.

The League faced few of the difficulties it encountered in 1980 in getting the candidates' consent to appear. Although Reagan held a substantial lead in the polls in his quest for reelection, he "felt constrained to debate his challenger,"<sup>65</sup> former vice president Walter Mondale, even though he apparently had little to gain by doing so. The candidates also agreed that a vice presidential debate should be held. Debate expert Sidney Kraus has argued that this election "set a precedent for the institutionalization of presidential debates" because it was the first time an incumbent president with a large lead felt a responsibility to meet his opponent face to face and discuss the issues in a nationally televised forum.

A final agreement, however, was not achieved until September 17, after a series of intense negotiations. Most of the discussion centered on the details of the debates. Mondale's advisers began the bargaining with a request for six debates; Reagan's camp wanted only one.<sup>66</sup> Eventually, the campaigns agreed to three: two presidential showdowns, to be held on October 7 and 21, and one vice presidential forum on October 11. They also detailed many of the specific arrangements for the debates, including such items as set design, program format, lighting, and podium placement.

One reason why the candidates devoted so much attention to the details of the arrangements was previous experience with such debates. Given the importance of these events, neither candidate wanted to leave unattended any matter that might prove consequential. Another reason was that both candidates felt that League was extraneous to the process and that it understood neither practical politics nor the

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September 1, 1996

POLITICS: THE REFORM PARTY

## For Debate Commission, A Predicament on Perot

By R.W. APPLE Jr.

**WASHINGTON, Aug. 31**— With the three main candidates officially nominated, the Commission on Presidential Debates is struggling to decide whether Ross Perot should be included this fall, as in 1992, even though his poll standing has been slumping.

"It wasn't a slam-dunk decision last time, and it will be tougher this time," said Paul Kirk, a former Democratic Party chairman serving as co-chairman of the commission.

Another director of the commission, Newton N. Minow, a Democrat who is a lawyer from Chicago, said during the Democratic convention there last week that there had been discussions about setting the cutoff mark at 5 percent in the polls, or 10 percent or 15 percent. In the latest New York Times/CBS News trial heat, which was conducted Aug. 10-18, Mr. Perot stood at 8 percent.

In the end, polls will be only one factor among many to be weighed.

The decision is scheduled to be made on Sept. 18, and it will almost certainly have an impact on the size of Mr. Perot's vote. If he is included, it would doubtless improve his showing at the polls; that, in turn, could help President Clinton, if politicians are correct in their assumption that more of Mr. Perot's votes would come from Bob Dole, the Republican nominee.

Michael D. McCurry, Mr. Clinton's press secretary, repeatedly refused at a breakfast meeting with reporters last week to be pinned down about whether the President wanted Mr. Perot included.

The other commission co-chairman, Frank Fahrenkopf, who is a former Republican Party chairman, said he was convinced that all the candidates admitted to the debates would take part in them this year.

"We have reached the point where it is impossible, in practical terms, for anyone to say no," he said. "Debates have become institutionalized. Even for the candidates to delay or play games these days costs them."

George Bush haggled over the rules in 1992, delaying the start of the series until late in the campaign, and relenting only when he was confronted at campaign events by demonstrators dressed in chicken costumes. Nevertheless, at a time when voter turnout and television audiences

were declining, the final debate at Michigan State University drew more viewers than any political event in American history: 97 million on the broadcast networks.

The commission's plans call for four debates this year, on consecutive Wednesdays starting Sept. 25. Three would involve the Presidential candidates and one the Vice-Presidential nominees. Two would feature a single moderator sitting with the candidates at a table, one would have a moderator and the candidates at lecterns, and a fourth would be a town-hall-type meeting.

To date, the candidates have not approved the schedule or formats.

Most viewers thought that the debates helped Mr. Perot four years ago, but his participation clearly made it more difficult for the major-party candidates to face off man-to-man. The national coordinator of Mr. Perot's Reform Party, Russell Verney, said last week that Mr. Perot expected to be asked again.

The commission's rules lay down 11 criteria for deciding whether to include minor-party candidates. The object, the rules say, "is to identify minor party candidates, if any, who have a realistic (i.e., more than theoretical) chance of being elected President of the United States."

One group of criteria requires that a minor-party candidate satisfy Constitutional eligibility requirements, be listed on the ballot in enough states to stand a mathematical chance of gaining a majority in the Electoral College (a requirement that would exclude Ralph Nader, nominee of the Green Party), organize in a majority of Congressional districts in those states and be eligible for Federal matching funds or have sufficient private means.

A second group of five criteria requires the commission to evaluate the opinions of leading journalists, professional campaign managers, political scientists and commentators, as well as newspaper and television exposure.

Finally, the commission is to take into account attendance at rallies and opinion-poll standings.

Several commission directors said they were eager to make a decision that would last for the whole campaign. In 1980, before the commission was created, John Anderson, an independent candidate, was included in the first debate, but the President at the time, Jimmy Carter, refused to take part, so Mr. Anderson debated with Ronald Reagan. Later, when Mr. Anderson's poll numbers slipped, he was dropped, and Mr. Carter debated with Mr. Reagan.

"I say, in for all or out for all," Mr. Minow said.

A five-member committee, headed by Professor Richard Neustadt of Harvard University, makes a recommendation to the commission, which can accept it or reject it. The other members are Dr. Diana Carlin, a professor of communication studies at the University of Kansas; Dorothy Ridings, a former president of the League of Women Voters; Kenneth Thompson, director of the Miller Center at the University of Virginia, and Eddie Williams, president of the Joint Center for Political

and Economic Studies in Washington.

**Photo: Will he or won't he? The Commission on Presidential Debates has yet to decide whether it will invite Ross Perot, the Reform Party candidate. (Agence France-Press)**

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# Exhibit 85

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candidates. But aren't the voters, not the polling sample or the CPD, supposed to determine who will and will not win the election?

*The criterion ignores the vast array of structural barriers that confront third party candidates.* Non-major party candidates face the most discriminatory ballot access laws of any democracy in the world, a winner-take-all system that often considers them spoilers, massive financial contributions to the major parties, and consistently scant media coverage.

*The criterion marginalizes the contributions of losing third-party candidates.* Most third parties crumble. But, fleeting third-party movements have made remarkable social and political contributions. Third-party candidates have introduced popular and groundbreaking issues that were eventually co-opted by the major parties, such as: the abolition of slavery, unemployment insurance, social security, child labor laws, public schools, public power, the direct election of senators, the graduated income tax, paid vacation, the 40-hour work week, the formation of labor unions, and democratic tools like the referendum and the recall. Excluded third-party candidates can't break the bipartisan conspiracy of silence on issues where the major parties are at odds with most of the American people.

Richard Marin, pollster for *The Washington Post*, wrote, "The objection to the 15 percent cut point is exactly right. It's absurdly high." Applied historically, a 15 percent criterion would have excluded every third-party candidate from every televised presidential debate, except for self-financed billionaire Ross Perot. In fact, even a *five* percent criterion applied to all previous televised presidential debates would have excluded every third-party candidate, except for John Anderson in 1980 and Ross Perot in 1992 and 1996.

In response to any suggestion that the threshold for inclusion be lowered, the CPD's first and foremost line of defense is, according to Executive Director Janet Brown, that "over 200 candidates run for president every four years. We can't let all of them on stage."

Yet, talking about 200 candidates is entirely misleading. Granted, roughly 200 people file presidential candidacy forms with the Federal Election Commission every election, including candidates like Billy Joe Clegg of the Clegg Won't Pull Your Leg Party. But of the roughly 200 third-party candidates that run every four years, how many were on enough state ballots to mathematically have a chance of winning the presidential election? In 1988 only two third-party candidates, in 1992 only three third-party candidates, in 1996 only four third-party candidates, in 2000 only five third-party candidates, in 2004 only four third-party candidates, in 2008 only four third-party candidates, and in 2012 only two third-party candidates.

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# Debate Commission Excludes Perot

WASHINGTON (AllPolitics, Sept. 17) -- In welcome news for GOP nominee Bob Dole, the bipartisan Commission on Presidential Debates has decided to exclude Reform Party candidate Ross Perot from this fall's series of presidential debates.

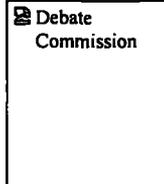
"Our decision," said Paul Kirk, co-chairman of the commission, "was made on the basis that only President Clinton and Senator Dole have a realistic chance, as set forth in our criteria, to be elected the next president of the United States." Both the commission and its advisory committee voted unanimously to exclude Perot. (295K [AIFF](#) or [WAV](#))

<b>Debate On Debates</b>
<a href="#">Letter From The Advisory Committee</a>
<a href="#">CPD Statement</a>
<a href="#">Take A Stand! The Tally</a>
<a href="#">Dialogue</a>
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<a href="#">Voter's Voice</a>
<a href="#">Who's On The CPD?</a>
<a href="#">Clinton's Reaction</a>
<a href="#">Dole's Reaction</a>
<a href="#">Third Party Response</a>
<a href="#">Bill Schneider's Take</a>

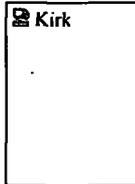
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The Dole campaign promptly released a statement supporting the ruling. "The inclusion of any other participant in the debate," it read, "would have violated the commission's own standard to include only third-party candidates who have proved they have a 'reasonable' chance to be elected president."



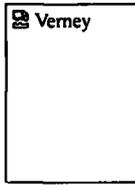
Most expected Perot's participation to hurt Dole, and Clinton campaign manager Peter Knight told The Associated Press, "We regret the decision by the commission. We had assumed all along that Mr. Perot would be in the debates."



Kirk explained that several factors worked against Perot. In addition to the Texan's low poll standings, Kirk cited the commission's judgement that Perot's ability to bounce back in the polls is more limited than it was in 1992. "Participation is not extended to candidates because they might prove interesting or entertaining," he told reporters.

Four years ago, Perot had virtually unlimited funds to spend on his self-financed campaign, Kirk noted, but this time around the Texan has limits on his coffers because he chose to accept federal funding. "Without that wherewithal," said Kirk, "his chances of winning an election in the face of the 1992 history is unrealistic." (300K [AIFF](#) or [WAV](#) sound)

"We have been very mindful of the fact that 62 percent of the American people would like to see Mr. Perot in the debate," Kirk said. "But I have to distinguish that from what the mission of the commission is. Because when you look at the same numbers, 74 percent of the people say they wouldn't vote for Ross Perot for president." (264K [AIFF](#) or [WAV](#) sound)



Russ Verney, Chairman of Perot '96, denounced the decision as a "travesty of justice" and said at an afternoon press conference that the Perot campaign was heading to court. "We will file suit in federal court this week," he said. "We will seek a temporary restraining order against the debates' occurring until we can get a full and

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fair hearing." (160K AIFF or WAV sound)

The theory behind the lawsuit is that the courts could order the Federal Election Commission to enforce its rules that debate sponsors use objective criteria to determine who gets to debate -- rules that Perot's campaign says the commission violated.

The commission had a list of criteria that each candidate had to meet to be invited to the debates, including being eligible under the Constitution and being on the ballot in enough states to win the 270 electoral votes needed for election.

But the key criterion, as the commission has been saying for weeks, is that each invited candidate have a "realistic, i.e., more than theoretical, chance of being elected the next president of the United States," according to Frank Fahrenkopf, the commission's other co-chairman.

While Perot pulled down 19 percent of the vote in the 1992 presidential election, he failed to carry any states then, and he has been lagging in the mid-single digits for most of the current campaign.



Kirk and Fahrenkopf said that if circumstances change -- say, if Perot were to improve his poll standings -- the commission would consider including him in later debates.

The decision is a welcome one for the Dole campaign, which wanted the opportunity to debate President Bill Clinton one-on-one. "In 1996, only one of two men will be elected President, Bob Dole or Bill Clinton," said the statement from the Dole campaign.

Clinton's campaign, meanwhile, wanted Perot in, guessing that Perot would spend more time criticizing Dole's tax-cut proposal than he would Clinton's record.

Still up in the air is the exact timing and length of the debates. Clinton would like to have a series of three 90-minute sessions later rather than earlier, while Dole has expressed a preference for four 60-minute sessions beginning very soon.

**Related Stories:**

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# Exhibit 87

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**ELECTION 2000**  
*How Citizens "See" a Presidential Debate*

• • • •

A product of the  
Vanishing Voter Project

Boston, Massachusetts  
October 3, 2000

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Research funded by a Grant  
From The Pew Charitable Trusts



**The Joan Shorenstein Center on the Press, Politics and Public Policy**  
John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University

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# Election 2000: How Viewers "See" a Presidential Debate

Thomas E. Patterson  
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Few televised events have the audience appeal of a presidential debate. The Super Bowl is the only regularly scheduled event that routinely draws a larger minute-to-minute audience. Presidential debates have drawn on average about 75 million viewers, which is roughly the size of the audience for the Academy Awards. By comparison, the typical prime-time program on ABC, NBC, or CBS draws 9 million viewers.

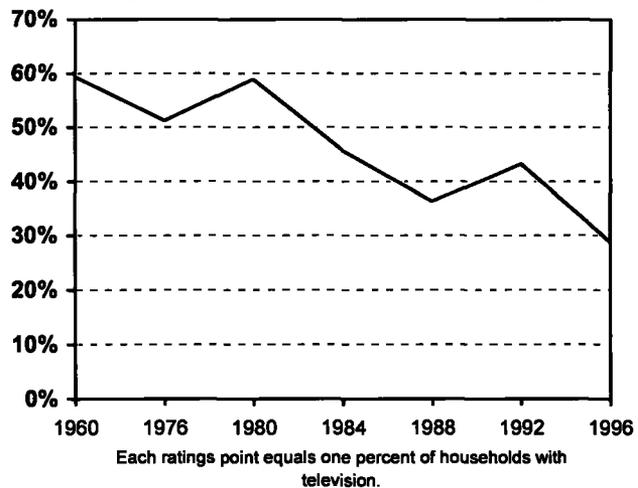
The audience for the televised debates has been shrinking (see Figure 1). The 1992 debates between Clinton, Bush, and Perot were an exception to the trend, but the viewing audience has gradually declined, largely because of the alternative programming available on cable television.

The latest Shorenstein Center weekly national poll indicates that the first general-election debate of the 2000 campaign is unlikely to break the downward trend. Only 28% of the respondents said they expect to watch most of Tuesday's debate and nearly 40% said they would not watch any of it. These proportions roughly parallel the audience numbers for the first Clinton-Dole debate in 1996.

The debate audience in future elections can be expected to decline further because of generational change. Today's young adults are measurably less interested in politics than those of even a decade or two ago. Most of them pay little or no attention to the daily news or public affairs programming as a result of the media environment in which they grew up. Unlike the pre-cable generation, they did not as children have regular exposure to television or print news and they did not acquire an interest in it. They do not have a news habit and display only passing interest in public affairs.

In our recent poll, nearly half of young adults (18-29 years of age) said they do not plan to watch any of the debate and an additional 21% claimed they would watch only a little of it. Only 14% said they would watch most of it (see Table 1).

Figure 1: Presidential Debate Ratings



Nevertheless, the debates are still very popular with most Americans. The reasons are obvious enough. Like the Super Bowl and the Oscars, the debates are, as Alan Schroeder observes, "human drama at its rawest." The stakes are high, and the outcome is uncertain. Debates are staged and ritualized events, but they are not fully scripted or completely predictable, as evidenced by Ronald Reagan's unexpectedly masterful performance in 1980 and his surprisingly addled performance four years later. Conflict, risk, and suspense are elements of drama, and the debates offer them on a level unmatched by any other scheduled televised political event.<sup>1</sup>

**Table 1: How much of the October 3 debate do you plan to watch? (by age group)**

	All	Under 30	30+
<b>Most of it</b>	27%	14%	33%
<b>Some of it</b>	15%	17%	16%
<b>Only a little</b>	17%	21%	18%
<b>None</b>	37%	48%	38%

Approximately 2% of respondents answered "don't know" and were omitted from these results.

If the reasons Americans choose to watch the debates are clear enough, the way in which they watch the debates is less well understood. How do viewers process and evaluate what they see and hear?

### Through the Viewers' Eyes

Journalists tend to look upon debates as decisive encounters that produce a winner and a loser and which can be decided by a single dramatic statement—an artful sound bite or inexplicable blunder. This perspective is not necessarily wrong, but it is decidedly journalistic. Most viewers experience the debate in a different way.

As a debate unfolds, viewers tend to render two judgments. One is whether the candidates seem "big enough" to occupy the presidency. The second is whether one of the candidates is the better choice.

These judgments could affect the outcome of the 2000 campaign. The race is close, and the number of undecided or weakly committed voters is relatively high. Among respondents in our recent poll who say they currently back either Bush or Gore, 17% claimed that it was very or somewhat likely that the debates could change their mind about which candidate to support. Self-identified independents were more likely than either Democrats or Republicans to say that the debates might lead them to switch their vote (see Table 2).

**Table 2: How likely is it that the debates could change your mind? (committed voters only)**

	All	Democrats	Republicans	Independents
<b>Very</b>	3%	5%	2%	3%
<b>Somewhat</b>	14%	12%	11%	22%
<b>Not at all</b>	83%	83%	88%	75%

The debates are even more important in the minds of uncommitted voters. Thirty-nine percent of them claim that they are looking toward the debates as a time to make their decision.

**Table 3: Are you more interested in seeing George Bush or Al Gore in the debates?**

	All	Democrats	Republicans	Independents
<b>Bush</b>	15%	8%	29%	10%
<b>Gore</b>	15%	26%	8%	11%
<b>Both equally</b>	61%	61%	57%	64%

Both candidates will be carefully scrutinized. When our respondents were asked "Are you more interested in seeing how George W. Bush or Al Gore handles himself in the debate, or are you equally interested in the performance of both candidates?" a clear majority—61 percent—claimed they intended to pay equal attention to both candidates (see

Table 3). Fourteen percent said they planned to watch Bush more closely and 15% said they would focus on Gore. Americans have a lot of unanswered questions about both candidates, and they intend to use the debates as a time to resolve some of them.

<sup>1</sup> Alan Schroeder, *Presidential Debates: Forty Years of High-Risk TV* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), 201.

## Are the Candidates “Big Enough” to Be President?

It is often said that the outcome of a televised debate rests on “image”—that it rewards the candidate who appears more confident and has the more compelling appearance and delivery. Like many claims about televised politics, this claim is at best a half-truth. Viewers do respond favorably to a poised and artful candidate, but they are looking for something deeper—an indication that a candidate is “big enough” for the presidency.

There is no precise set of standards for this judgment, which is why it is partly a visceral reaction and is colored by partisanship—loyal Democrats and Republicans can usually convince themselves that their party’s nominee meets the test. But it’s a real test nonetheless. Voters expect a presidential candidate to have the characteristics they admire in a president. Does the candidate have the proper temperament, stature, knowledge, and style? Does the candidate appear “presidential?”

It’s a critical test, but it’s also an inexact one, which is a reason why most candidates pass it. If he had been running for president and not vice president in 1988, Dan Quayle would have been among the few to fail. Squaring off against Lloyd Bentsen, Quayle was widely perceived by viewers to lack the intellectual agility required of a president. Ross Perot in 1992 also failed the test, even though his participation in the debates did strengthen his position in the polls. Viewers found in Perot an outlet for their dissatisfaction with the major parties, but they also concluded that Perot was not fully fit for the presidency. He was too blustery, too contentious, too folksy, and too plain. Michael Dukakis in 1988 passed the test narrowly, having failed to persuade viewers that he had the empathy that would enable him to understand their problems fully.

For a candidate who meets the test, the result is enhanced stature and credibility, although not necessarily a surge in the polls. Mondale’s debate performance in 1984 won viewers’ admiration but did not endanger Reagan’s reelection. Most viewers thought Mondale “won” the first debate but continued to believe that Reagan would be the better president.

The favorable response to Mondale was heightened by a pre-debate expectation that he would perform less well than his opponent. For the same reason, George W. Bush will enter Tuesday’s debate with a psychological advantage. In our survey, by a margin of 46% to 30%, respondents felt that Gore is likely to do “a better job” than Bush in the debate (see Table 4).

Past debates suggest, however, that Bush will have to deliver a “presidential” performance to convert his psychological advantage into a real one. A lackluster performance would confirm doubts that some voters harbor about his ability and a Quayle-like effort would likely doom his candidacy. Gore is also at risk. Because he is expected to dominate, he needs to perform at a level equal or higher to Bush, or his weaker performance will be magnified.

Of greater risk to Gore, however, may be his tendency in debate to attack his opponent. Second-by-second analyses of recent presidential debates reveal that viewers’ most negative reactions occur when a candidate is in attack mode. A candidate can contrast his own views with those of his opponent and can sometimes succeed in attack by using humor to soften the blow. But a debate strategy based on strong and repeated attacks tends to repel viewers. Our research on the 2000 campaign’s primary election debates confirms the generalization: of the dozen debates we studied, the one that viewers liked least by far was the Gore-Bradley encounter in New York City. It was also the most contentious of the debates we examined, and most viewers claimed that the debate had diminished their opinion of Gore. The debating

**Table 4: Which candidate do you think will do better in the debates?**

	All	Democrats	Republicans	Independents
<b>Bush</b>	30%	9%	61%	28%
<b>Gore</b>	46%	72%	19%	42%
<b>Both equally</b>	7%	7%	5%	9%

style that Gore displayed during his New York primary debate and in his NAFTA and vice-presidential debates could work against him if he employs it in Tuesday night's presidential debate. Viewers expect a presidential candidate to act "presidential," which includes proper decorum.

Gore or Bush might fail to reach the viewers' threshold of acceptability for a would-be president in Tuesday's debate, but it's unlikely. The candidates are months-deep into their campaigns, have spent long hours rehearsing for Tuesday's debate, and have been briefed on the do's and don'ts of debating.<sup>2</sup> Unless one of them gets stage fright or begins to panic under the pressure, viewers' response to the two candidates will hinge largely on how they answer a second question: Which candidate is the better choice?

### Which Candidate Is the Better Choice?

Televised debates naturally seem to direct attention to the candidates' images. In the first minutes, viewers are indeed closely attentive to the way the candidates look and act. But as the debate unfolds, issues come to the fore and, in the end, tend to have a greater impact on viewers' response to the candidates.

Second-by-second debate analyses indicate that the audience responds most favorably to the candidates when they are talking about an issue that people care deeply about and are able to frame their position in a way that shows they understand why people are concerned about the issue.<sup>3</sup> Even though journalists dismiss most debate issues as old news, most viewers are not highly informed about the issues and rarely have the opportunity to listen at length to what the candidates have to say about the issues.

As a debate unfolds issue by issue, viewers keep something akin to a running tab on what the candidates are saying. After the debate is over, most viewers have difficulty describing in detail what the candidates have said, but they have no difficulty answering the question: "Which candidate came closer to expressing your views on the issues?" Their answers to this question—more than their answers to the question "Who won?"—are closely related to their voting intention.

Both candidates will have numerous opportunities in the debate to discuss issues that are of concern to viewers and that will supply them with new information. In the Shorenstein Center weekly national polls, we have been tracking Americans' awareness of the candidates' positions on a dozen issues and, even though the campaign has been going on for months, most people have only a limited amount of information about many of Bush and Gore's positions. On the typical issue, only 29% were able to accurately identify the candidate's position while 14% guessed wrong and 57% said they didn't know the candidate's stand.

The fact that most people are not highly informed about the issues may work to Gore's advantage. Gore's policy positions are generally closer than Bush's to those of most voters. Indeed, Gore has tended to gain support in the polls when issues are at the forefront of the campaign while Bush has done better during periods where the issues have been less prominent. Our surveys indicate that issues have receded recently in people's minds as the candidates' gaffes have dominated news coverage. Bush has strengthened his position in the polls during this period. The debate offers Gore an opportunity to get people thinking again about issues, just as he did to considerable effect during the Democratic convention.

<sup>2</sup> In this regard, a reason why Dole did not attack Clinton aggressively in the 1996 debates was the knowledge that it would almost certainly cost him the debate.

<sup>3</sup> When one or more of these elements is missing, the viewer's reaction tends to be weaker. That's why, for example, viewers of the second Ford-Carter debate in 1976 took little notice of Ford's remark on Eastern Europe. It was not an issue that the viewers cared about. Only after the news media made his remark the focus of its post-debate coverage, and portrayed it as a blunder, did the public attach importance to it.

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## Can the Debates Be Strengthened?

The televised presidential debates are a success story. At a time when political interest is waning, a debate still has the power to draw tens of millions of viewers to their television sets. A debate also meets the water-cooler test—the next day, millions of people share their impressions of what they saw and heard the night before.

A televised debate is more than an event. It is an act of community. For an hour and a half, millions of Americans involve themselves actively in a collective political experience. These moments do not always have a lasting impact. The 1996 debates failed to revitalize a sagging campaign. But the impact sometimes endures. Polls in September of 1992 revealed an electorate whose interest was fading. Analysts predicted that voter turnout would be no higher than in 1988. But the public's outlook changed with the debates and Perot's reentry into the race. Public interest in and satisfaction with the campaign rose dramatically. And as we know, turnout in 1992 turned sharply upward for the first time in three decades.

Although the debates are now nearly an institutionalized feature of the presidential campaign, there are still open questions about them. The most pressing may well be the test that will be applied to participation by third-party or independent candidates. The Commission on Presidential Debates, which is dominated by the major parties, has decided that the debates should be restricted to candidates who have the support of 15% of likely voters in pre-debate polls. Most Americans think otherwise. In our recent poll, 56% of the respondents said that Pat Buchanan and Ralph Nader should have been allowed to participate in this year's debate. Only 29% would have excluded them. These opinions characterize all partisan groupings—Democrats, Republicans, and Independents (see Table 5).

**Table 5: Do you think third-party candidates should be allowed in the debates?**

	All	Democrats	Republicans	Independents
<b>Yes</b>	56%	57%	55%	56%
<b>No</b>	29%	27%	31%	30%
<b>Don't Know</b>	14%	15%	14%	13%

There is also the issue of whether broadcast networks should be required to carry the debates. FOX has elected not to cover Tuesday's debate, and NBC has made it optional for its affiliates, bowing to pressure after first announcing that it would carry only a major league baseball playoff game. In our poll, respondents approved of NBC's initial decision by a narrow margin (49% to 45%).

The debates are too important to a presidential election to be dependent on the self-interested decisions of the major parties or the broadcast networks, although reasonable people can disagree on exactly which policies should govern the debates. Moreover, the debates need not be the only major opportunity for presidential candidates to speak directly and at length to the American people. Despite its decades-long leadership in the communication field, the United States has lagged in devising television forums that are designed to serve the needs of candidates and voters. In its "Nine Sundays" proposal a decade ago, the Shorenstein Center recommended the adoption of a series of prime-time candidate-centered broadcasts that would include, but not be limited to, debates. The basic principle underlying the proposed series was that the telecasts should be designed to enable the candidates to speak directly to the American people, yet under conditions where they could be immediately held accountable for their statements. As citizens increasingly drift away from the campaign, and as candidates increasingly show up on programs such as the Oprah Winfrey Show, it may be time to revisit the question of whether additional prime-time forums of the type outlined in the "Nine Sundays" report should be added to the television opportunities available to voters during the presidential general election.

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## About the Vanishing Voter Project

The Vanishing Voter Project is a study by the Joan Shorenstein Center on the Press, Politics and Public Policy at Harvard University's John F. Kennedy School of Government. Funding for the project is provided by The Pew Charitable Trusts. The project has the goal of strengthening public involvement in the presidential selection process. Through research, the project seeks to understand the factors that affect public involvement and to use this information to propose constructive changes in the election process.

A special feature of the Project is the weekly Voter Involvement Index (*see graph*). The index is based on questions asked in our weekly national poll of approximately 1,000 Americans.

The research also includes substantial multi-method efforts during key moments of the campaign to assess how structural variations (for example, debate formats) affect involvement. The Project's web site contains other timely survey results on election-related topics.

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## Research Directors

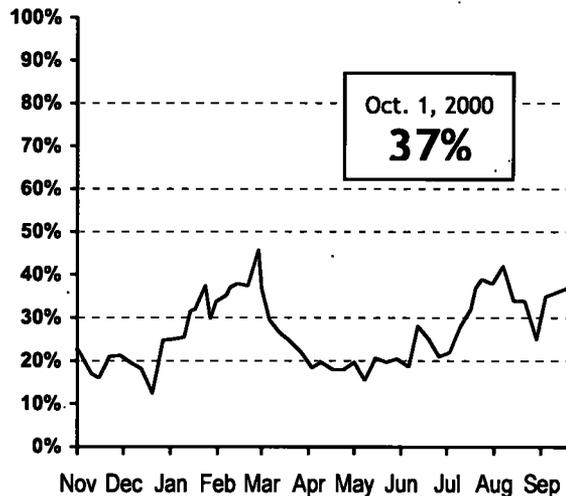
**THOMAS E. PATTERSON** is the Bradlee Professor of Government and the Press and survey director of the Shorenstein Center. He has conducted several major studies of the media's impact on the presidential selection process. His election books include *The Unseeing Eye* (1976), *The Mass Media Election* (1980), and *Out of Order* (1994). He is also the author of two introductory American Government textbooks: *The American Democracy* and *We the People*.

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## Voter Involvement Index



The **VOTER INVOLVEMENT INDEX** is calculated by averaging the responses to four questions—whether people say they are currently paying close attention to the campaign, and whether in the past day they were thinking about the campaign, talking about it, or following it in the news.

The survey results reported here are from the Shorenstein Center's weekly national surveys of approximately 1,000 adults, conducted between November 14, 1999 and October 1, 2000. Each national poll has a sampling error of approximately plus or minus 3%. Additional results from the national surveys are available on the project's web site at <http://www.vanishingvoter.org/>.

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## About the Joan Shorenstein Center on the Press, Politics and Public Policy

The Shorenstein Center is located within Harvard University's John F. Kennedy School of Government. It is dedicated to exploring through research, teaching, and deliberation the intersection of communication, politics, and public policy. The Center was established in 1986 with a gift from the Walter Shorenstein family. The Center's advisory board includes distinguished journalists, scholars, and executives.







The reemergence of the slavery issue, however, precipitated the death of the Whig Party. There was simply no way of reconciling the differences between pro-slavery Southerners and anti-slavery Northerners. Pro-slavery forces quickly found the Democrats more to their liking, while anti-extensionists became either Free Soilers or Republicans. Only those Whigs unpolarized by the slavery issue remained in the party. Displaced by the Republicans as a major party, old Whigs carried on for two more elections in the form of the Know-Nothing and Constitutional Union parties.

#### KNOW-NOTHING (AMERICAN) PARTY

Severe economic adversity in Europe drove record numbers of immigrants to the United States in the late 1840s and early 1850s. The backlash spurred by their arrival was almost immediate: secret nativist societies and clubs sprang up throughout the North, where most immigrants settled. The clubs did not originally intend to enter politics directly, but following the election of Democrat Franklin Pierce in 1852, for which immigrant voters were largely blamed (or credited), the New York-based Order of the Star Spangled Banner began to build a nativist coalition to nominate candidates for public office.

Although the two were not always separable, the party seemed more intense in its hatred of Catholics than foreigners. It welcomed foreign-born Protestants into the order, but "every Know-Nothing firmly believed that Papists should be barred from every office in the national, state, and local governments and, if possible, driven back to the priest-ridden lands from whence they had come" (Billington 1933, p. 386). This antipathy towards Catholics was in fact the party's sole basis for unity; the sectional divisions that plagued the nation as a whole were equally prevalent within the party.

The movement grew quickly. In addition to its anti-Catholic stance, the party's secret rituals and greetings attracted members. Their refusal to divulge any relevant information to outsiders led Horace Greeley to dub them the "Know-Nothing Party." Its candidates were remarkably successful in the 1854

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candidates, they reduce the ability of independent challengers to hold the major parties accountable. The more difficult it is for citizens to support third parties, the greater is the major party deterioration required before voters are induced to back an independent. If the costs are too great, of course, the check on the major parties evaporates.

Proposals to raise the costs of third party voting would have severe negative consequences for American democracy. If the major parties closed off the third party route entirely, an important means of political representation would be lost. As long as minorities can threaten to damage both parties by a third party campaign, the major parties are encouraged to compromise with these groups. It is not clear what strategies disgruntled minority factions would pursue if the third party option were unavailable. It is unlikely that they could force the major parties to be more accommodating. Since they would have nowhere else to go, these groups might have to turn to less accepted forms of action.

Because third parties help to hold the major parties accountable to certain minority interests, one way to enhance minority representation in the political arena is to increase the opportunities for third party activity. The less the major parties are able to monopolize control of the government, and the more uncertainty there is over which party will enjoy an Electoral College majority, the greater the incentives for the major parties to tend to the minority concerns they would otherwise ignore. The less the rules of the game permit groups to be written off, the more accountable the major parties have to be. Because the current set of electoral rules reduces the likelihood of a third party significantly affecting election outcomes, the major parties can afford to be relatively unattentive to minority concerns.

#### THE FUTURE OF THIRD PARTIES IN AMERICA

The marked increase in third party voting since 1964 can be attributed to several factors. Increased intra-party factionalism and the inability of the major parties to realign around more salient concerns have been the two most important forces

# Exhibit 89

INTEGRITY

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Politics at the  
Periphery

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*Third Parties in  
Two-Party America*

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*J. David Gillespie*

UNIVERSITY OF  
SOUTH CAROLINA PRESS

Copyright © 1993 University of South Carolina  
Published in Columbia, South Carolina, by the University of South Carolina Press  
Manufactured in the United States of America.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Gillespie, J. David, 1944-

Politics at the periphery: third parties in two-party America /

J. David Gillespie.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 0-87249-843-3

1. Third parties (United States politics)—History. I. Title.

JK2269.G55: 1993

324.273'8—dc20

92-43973

They may be effective legislators as well, either in coalition with Democrats or Republicans or on essentially nonpartisan matters; but their numbers are far too small to enact third-party platform commitments without support from many in one or both major parties. Thus, assuming that third-party numbers remain relatively small, numbers are not the most crucial thing determining whether a third party will influence the policy-making process. That influence is more likely when a major party takes for itself an issue position that the third party has advanced previously.

### The Usefulness of Third Parties: A Utilitarian Analysis

In dealing with political phenomena, scholars often use a technique called role analysis. They write of roles presidents play: chief executive, head of state, commander in chief. Party specialists also use role analysis. Just about any book on the subject will tell you that the main role of political parties—usually the writer is thinking about the major parties—is to link people with their political system. In doing so, parties discharge related roles or functions: (1) helping organize the political selection process, especially elections; (2) mobilizing citizen participation; (3) contributing to popular understanding of politics; (4) channeling and reducing conflict, thus helping build the consensus that democracy needs; (5) organizing and running the government and/or opposition.

Third parties also play roles. Though a third party may differ from the major parties or from another third party in the manner and impact of its role performance, Rosenstone and his colleagues rightly observe that third parties do play many of the roles also played by the Democrats and Republicans.<sup>21</sup>

Third parties carry out two additional roles that the major parties do not. First, they are a way for the dissident, the disaffected, to "blow off steam." Thus they serve, often quite unintentionally, to undergird and stabilize the political system, including the pattern of just two major parties. Second, a third party may assist, by the example of its own popular appeal, in correcting the policy stands, even the ideological course, of a major. A third party therefore is, as Leon Epstein sees it, "a functioning element in two-party competition."<sup>22</sup>

There is, however, a severe and inherent limit on the usefulness of such role analysis when applied to third parties. Just think about it. When speaking of role playing one cannot escape thoughts of an assigned part within the already-written script of a play. In this case the play is

Table 1.2—continued

<i>Third-Party Platform(s) and Issues</i>	<i>Indications of Appropriation: Major Party Platform(s)</i>	<i>Subsequent Enactment: Constitutional Amendment or Congressional Statute</i>
<b>Socialist Party (1904-1912)</b>		
Female Suffrage	Democrat (1916); Republican (1916)	19th Amendment (1920)
Initiative and Referendum	---	None. But enacted in many states.
Government Ownership of Railroads	---	---
(Graduated) Income Tax	Democrat (1908)	16th Amendment (1913) and subsequent legislation
Shorter Working Hours	Democrat (1908)— limited application	Wages and Hours Act (1938); earlier laws in many states
Abolition of U.S. Senate	---	---
Abolition of Child Labor	---	Keating-Owen Act (1916) and state statutes
<b>Socialist Party (1928)</b>		
Public Works for the Unemployed	Democrat (1932, 1936)	Statutes passed in 1933
Unemployment Insurance	Democrat (1932, 1936)	Social Security Act (1935)
<b>American Independent Party (1968)</b>		
Toughness on Crime	Republican (1968)	Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act (1968) and subsequent legislation

Sources: Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., ed., *History of U.S. Political Parties*, Vols. II-IV (New York: Chelsea House, 1973); and *National Party Conventions, 1831-1980* (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, 1983).



## Citizen Perot

By Tom Morganthau | 3/13/10 at 9:28 PM

For a guy who said he'd fight this battle fair and square-campaign solely on the issues, talk about what matters to the voters and the country-Ross Perot made a passable attempt at kicking George Bush in the political groin last week. The vehicle was "60 Minutes," that bastion of establishment journalism, and the subject was dirty tricks. Now it can be told: Perot dropped out of the presidential race last July to protect his daughter Carolyn from a nefarious plot to disrupt her wedding. Then there was the plot to defame her with a lewdly doctored photograph, and the plot to tap his office telephone. Proof? Perot had no proof, and he admitted it. He had only the word of a notoriously flaky character named Scott Barnes, and warnings from two unnamed but allegedly well-connected friends in politics. End of subject: how dare you question my integrity?

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This, of course, is the oldest trick in the book-make a red-meat allegation to get the press slaving for more details, then dance away from it. You want me to prove it? I told you all you need to know, so go find the evidence-I'm trying to run a serious campaign here. There were, however, two small glitches in this familiar scenario. First, Citizen Perot seems not to have learned Rule One of negative campaigning, which is to leave no fingerprints when transmitting nasty rumors to the press. This small omission-an amateur's mistake-led directly to the second problem, which was that the allegations blew up instantly in his face. Perot looked grandiose and paranoid-like something of a kook. His momentum toward quasi-respectability in the national polls, which began with his unlikely re-entry in the race on Oct. 1, suddenly collapsed, probably irreversibly. By NEWSWEEK'S latest national survey, Perot's support dropped from 22 percent to 14 percent between Oct. 23 and Oct. 28, a devastating loss so close to Election Day. More than half of NEWSWEEK'S sample said there had been no Republican plot to smear his daughter, and a large plurality of the voters-48 percent-thought Perot "relies too much on stories that are not backed up by hard evidence."

So this, in all probability, signaled the end of the Perot presidential bubble-one of the more bizarre episodes in modern politics, the story of a surpassingly strange romance between a bigmouth billionaire and a frustrated, disillusioned electorate. Who is this guy, and how did he wind up getting so much attention in a pivotal election year? How has he changed the process, and what is he likely to do next? What does his early success and ultimate failure tell us about Ross Perot, about American politics and ourselves? There can be no Perot came very close to upsetting the rickety apple cart we call the two-party system: possibly-just possibly-he could have gone all the way. Ed Rollins and Hamilton Jordan, the two political pros who briefly enlisted to run the Perot-for-president campaign, certainly thought he could, and no one can say that Rollins and Jordan are dumb.

### ***Newsweek Magazine is Back In Print***

Put it another way. At his apogee, in early June, Perot enjoyed the support of about 35 percent of the voting-age population, or about 65 million Americans. True, this support was fragile and highly conditional: roughly three quarters of all those who backed his candidacy said they would switch to another candidate if it appeared Perot could not win. But these numbers by themselves made plain fools of the pundits and analysts who dominate political journalism, and they scared the living daylights out of the Bush and Clinton campaigns-to say nothing of the hundreds of incumbent congresspersons now running for their political lives. The voters were speaking loudly, and they were mad as hell. Perot, part Daddy Warbucks and part John Q. Public, was well positioned to harness that anger and ride it, if he could, all the way to the White House.

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The fact is he couldn't-but that is only hindsight, a verdict that rests in part on intuitive suspicions of Perot's rough-as-cob persona and even more on the post-July recognition that he did not really have what it takes to run for president. Shaken by the hard-nosed inquisitions of a national press corps that had finally recognized his potential, Perot pulled the spectacular bugout that left his followers in the lurch. To judge by the whispers from within his down-sized and deprofessionalized organization, he regretted it instantly and almost as quickly began plotting some sort of comeback. What we now see-and arguably could have seen all along-is that this second effort would eventually be undone by Perot's inclination to depict the motives of his rivals in the darkest possible terms. This is intemperate and a sign of questionable judgment. But it is not evidence, in any specific medical sense, that Perot is nuts.

Still, if character is destiny, it was inevitable that Perot would sooner or later give voice to the conspiratorial cast of mind that seems to have governed his adult life. He has always been a driven man--a boat-rocker and a maverick who is determined to prove that he is smarter and more nobly motivated than anyone around him. That is the theme of his short career in the U.S. Navy, his upstart success in the computer-services industry and his much-publicized feud with General Motors. I'm right and they're wrong: the system is not only bloated and inefficient, it is corrupt. That is the theme of his one-man assault on American politics this year: the system is broke, hopelessly compromised by its own shabby accommodations and terminally incapable of producing results. Millions of Americans essentially agree with this diagnosis, if not necessarily with Perot's prescriptions or his claims to high-minded competence. But for a few brief weeks in early summer, Perot looked like the answer to a disgruntled voter's prayer--the gritty, homely personification of the Horatio Alger myth come to politics, a megabucks Mr. Fixit with a Boy Scout sense of ethics and a penchant for putting things right.

This is straight out of "Mr. Smith Goes to Washington," the 1939 Frank Capra classic about the struggle of an ordinary citizen (Jimmy Stewart) to rescue government from a clique of venal politicians. It is a theme that has a long and honorable history in American politics--it was the driving impulse for the Progressive Movement, to cite just one pertinent example--and it is a role that Perot would dearly love to have scripted for himself. But now, with the darker side of his personality emerging, Perot seems less like Jimmy Stewart and more like Hal Phillip Walker, the mysterious third-party presidential candidate in Robert Altman's brooding 1975 film, "Nashville." Hal Phillip Walker is never seen on camera, though his voice is heard proclaiming that "what this country needs is some one-syllable answers." Sound like Ross ("It's just that simple") Perot? "Nashville" is all about the slick illusions of politics; Perot, with his tightly controlled, lavishly bankrolled, pseudo-grass-roots campaign, knows something about illusion making, too. And "Nashville," in the end, evokes the sense of dark forces at work behind the scenes--which is precisely the message that Perot, in his fumbling attempt to stick it to the Republicans last week, is now sending to his followers.

But the notion that Perot's appeal fundamentally depended on Americans' willingness to accept conspiracy theories of politics is elitist nonsense. His poll numbers at their June zenith were simply too high for that. The available demographic data suggest Perot scored best with registered independents with incomes of more than \$50,000 a year and with voters in their 30s and 40s the upper-middle segment of white-collar, suburban America, and people in their most productive years. This is hardly a profile of true-believing zanies--and these are not people who, as some have suggested, can rightly be seen as proto-fascists yearning for a dictator. Further, the decline in Perot's poll numbers after his July 16 withdrawal--he plummeted from 28 percent in mid-July to a mere 9 percent in early October--suggests that the bulk of his support came from swing voters who were searching for a presidential alternative in flexible, pragmatic ways.

What Perot did, in the view of many analysts, was act as a conveyor belt for swing voters and Reagan Democrats who had grown disillusioned with the Republican Party and George Bush. Like Jerry Brown, Perot catalyzed their anger at the special interests and the partisan games in Washington. Like Paul Tsongas, but more forcefully, he articulated the fear that America is in decline. And like no one since Jimmy Stewart's Mr. Smith, he evoked the dream of government without politics. That hope may be naive and even self-contradictory--true governance means making tough choices, and politics is the way democratic societies balance the demands of competing interest groups. But if anti-politics is ultimately illusory, it is a quintessentially American illusion. Perot not only voiced it passionately, he apparently believed it. And the immediate beneficiary was Bill Clinton, who jumped into the lead in this year's presidential race as soon as Perot pulled out.

His larger contribution may well have been to reinvigorate the election-year debate. With his paperback best seller and his twangy one-liners, Perot almost single-handedly forced the twin issues of deficit control and generational fairness onto the national agenda. This was wildly reckless by the prevailing canons of Dr. Feelgood politics, and it may be one reason Perot, with his blunt call for raising taxes on affluent retirees, had relatively lower support among over-65 voters. His concern for the national debt, similarly, may overstated: while most economists agree that the deficit will require firm action in the next year or so, few would go so far as to say that the budget must be balanced at all costs by 1998. But credit where credit is due: there was little or no sign that George Bush and Bill Clinton were prepared to discuss these primal issues before Perot re-entered the race.

Then there is the matter of Perot and the national news media. Most politicians have a love-hate relationship with reporters; Perot's relationship with the press, despite the media's love for good copy, was even less positive than that. Reporters detest a phony, and Perot has a touch of that: his self-deprecating humor and homespun zingers are part of his salesmans repertoire. Underneath, he's

egotistical, imperious and thin-skinned. He could not stand the press corps's skepticism, its relentless search for critics from his business years and, most of all, its interest in his family. He probably never understood that reporters are paid to ask impertinent questions and that somewhere in the hazing process a truer portrait of the candidate can emerge. The newsies, on the other hand, were mostly uninterested in the issues Perot was trying to promote and almost obsessive in their conviction that a major character flaw was lurking somewhere in his past. What they found, for the most part, was a culture clash-the conflict between Perot's straitlaced, military style and their own irreverent disregard for Norman Rockwell pieties.

The latest knock is that Perot, with his pie charts and paid political monologues, is both sloppy with the facts and wedded to an economic program that would punish low-income Americans. Both criticisms are arguably true, and they suggest that Perot, had he not dropped out of the race, might well have seen his positions on the issues carved up by the media and the opposition. Then again, maybe not: Ronald Reagan, who never mastered the details of his own programs and who was assuredly no champion of the poor, ran and won twice on the strength of his promise to straighten out the mess in Washington. The parallel runs further. Like Reagan and Jimmy Carter (though not George Bush), Perot appears to have gotten much of his strength from Middle America's simmering discontent with Beltway politics-its insularity, its arrogance and its failure to offer meaningful solutions to the nation's problems. Those problems-the federal debt, the health-care crisis, the decay of the cities-have only gotten worse through three successive administrations, and most Americans are well aware of that.

The message, which Perot deserves at least some credit for delivering one more time, is do something, even if it's wrong. Act like leaders; act as if the national interest mattered. Most voters know little about the ideological tong wars that have paralyzed Washington for the past 12 years, and only a minority of true believers on either side actually cares about them. Perot, with his hokey, transparently unworkable nonsense about electronic town meetings and restoring government to the people, was just as likely as Bush or Clinton to be stymied by this impasse and perhaps consumed by it. Our chance to find out what he would do, for better or worse, disappeared when he flamed out in last July-and given what we now know about his penchant for seeing political goblins under the national bed, that's probably just as well. But he remains one of the more fascinating and unpredictable figures of a wild election year, and he may well haunt the next president, and Congress, for years. Did Perot change U.S. politics in some important or lasting way? Probably not-but he is a true American original, and he has surely been fun to watch.

11081211110000

Do you think there really was a plot by Republicans

to smear Perot's daughter?

All voters

26% Yes

53% No

Perot Voters

58% Yes

28% No

For this NEWSWEEK Poll, The Gallup Organization telephoned 808

likely voters Oct. 28-29. Margin of error +/- 4 percentage points.

"Don't know" and other responses not shown. The NEWSWEEK Poll

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From all you have learned about Perot, do you think better or worse

of him now than when he first put himself forward for president?

39% Better

42% worse

15% No change

NEWSWEEK Poll, Oct. 28-29, 1992

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# Without Ross Perot, There Would Be No Deficit Deal

August 5, 1993 | By Sandy Grady, Philadelphia Daily News

WASHINGTON — As a confirmed skeptic of Ross Perot, I never thought I would rise to the defense of the Texas bullshooter.

Not easy defending a billionaire who is egotistical, secretive, arrogant and fickle.

It's not fashionable to say a kind word for Perot when the Washington establishment from president to media heavyweights consider zapping Ross to be a blood sport.

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And when he goes on television, which seems hourly, Perot can be as over-hyped and underclassd as the New York Mets.

Perot had the worst 30 minutes of his video career Sunday when he fell apart under water-torture by interviewers David Broder of The Washington Post, Al Hunt of The Wall Street Journal and Tim Russert of NBC.

He was flying high, attacking Bill Clinton's budget deal, when the panel grilled Perot about gaps in his own plan. Exactly how would he cut \$141 billion in Medicare and Medicaid?

In effect, Ross said the dog ate his homework.

"If you'd told me you were going to ask that, I'd come in with my charts," Perot said. "I don't have the list with me."

Pressed, Perot snapped, "You've asked me eight

times. You're trying to do a gotcha." Peering directly at the camera, he said, "Don't be scared by this hot air, folks."

Nobody chuckled more gleefully at Perot's televised meltdown than Bill Clinton. "It was wonderful," Clinton told reporters in a telephone hookup Monday. "Nice to see him answering questions for a change."

Clinton suggested sharply that Perot keep his nose out of the budget deal. "He doesn't have a vote in Congress. . . . To keep wallowing around in it won't serve anybody."

Translation: Run your speedboat, Ross, and mind your own business.

Well, forget the Clinton-Perot feud, guaranteed to blaze until the 1996 presidential vote. Never mind that Perot, who has an outsider's luxury of ducking specifics, had his bluff called on the NBC talk show.

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Ross Perot

Meltdown

Without Ross Perot, There Would Be No Deficit Deal - Orlando Sentinel

Instead, let's do something contrary to the news media trend (and my own instincts): Give a couple of hurrahs for Perot, Washington's forgotten winner.

Oh, this is a dramatic week, with Clinton's \$496 billion deficit-denting deal facing a razor-thin vote. If it passes even if Al Gore breaks a Senate tie at 3 a.m. the Clinton White House will bust out champagne.

In truth, this should be Perot's week, Perot's triumph, Perot's celebration.

Without Ross Perot, there would be no deficit deal.

Think I'm overstating? As a witness to many Clinton '92 campaign rallies, I heard him rave about investing \$50 billion a year on crowd-pleasing stuff such as high-speed trains, national service so kids could afford college, worker training and 20th-century high-tech.

If Clinton mentioned reducing the deficit, it was tucked far down in a speech and drew faint applause. Never did he ever mention hiking gas taxes or taxes on the elderly.

James Carville would have stuffed a sock in his mouth.

No, it was Perot, a twanging Jeremiah with an eight-buck haircut, who alone harped endlessly about the deficit. After the election was over, he wouldn't shut up. Perot paid for his tube time to warn that \$300 billion-a-year deficits ("a crazy aunt in the basement") were chewing up America's future.

Face it, unless Perot's pesky needling aroused the public obsession, Clinton and the Democrats wouldn't push this tax-raising deal that could be a political death trap.

Perot should have held a rally on Capitol Hill and declared victory. Instead, and not for the first time, he's making a dumb PR move.

Maybe he can't stop talking. Or he's hyping his United We Stand membership. Or he's irked by Clinton's middling success. But Perot's noisily bashing the deficit deal as a "failure" and "Silly Putty stuff" that doesn't really stop the red ink.

OK, Perot's correct. And Clinton admits it.

"You're right. It doesn't do enough," Clinton said to critics. "Unless you do this, you can't go on to the second stage."

In fact, Clinton's deficit-cutting package is eerily similar to 1990's \$500 billion gizmo George Bush called "the biggest deficit reduction deal in history." Oops, another flop.

I suspect Perot, who still prattles of 50-cent gas taxes, is living in a fantasy of the 1992 campaign's "politics of change." Unlike Clinton, Perot hasn't had to wrestle gritty politics.

With the oil-state guys, Black Caucus, tobacco lobby and corporate cats squabbling, with no Republican help, with Dan Rostenkowski in trouble, it's amazing Clinton got even this mediocre deal.

Stop moaning and take a bow, Ross. It ain't perfect. But without your nagging, the 1993 deficit deal would never happen.

If it passes, Clinton will raise a glass of bubbly "to my friend Ross who made it all possible."

If you believe that, bet the Mets in the World Series.

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Part III Statement of Program Service Accomplishments (see instructions)

1 Briefly describe the organization's mission

ORGANIZE PRESIDENTIAL AND VICE PRESIDENTIAL DEBATES

2 Did the organization undertake any significant program services during the year which were not listed on the prior Form 990 or 990-EZ?

Yes No

If 'Yes,' describe these new services on Schedule O

3 Did the organization cease conducting, or make significant changes in how it conducts, any program services?

Yes No

If 'Yes,' describe these changes on Schedule O

4 Describe the exempt purpose achievements for each of the organization's three largest program services by expenses Section 501(c)(3) and 501(c)(4) organizations and section 4947(a)(1) trusts are required to report the amount of grants and allocations to others, the total expenses, and revenue, if any, for each program service reported

4a (Code ) (Expenses \$ 3,007,012. including grants of \$ ) (Revenue \$ )

ORGANIZE, PRODUCE, FINANCE AND PUBLICIZE THE GENERAL ELECTION DEBATES FOR CANDIDATES FOR PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. OTHER RELATED EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES ARE HELD IN NON-DEBATE YEARS SUCH AS CONFERENCES AND SYMPOSIUMS.

4b (Code ) (Expenses \$ including grants of \$ ) (Revenue \$ )

4c (Code ) (Expenses \$ including grants of \$ ) (Revenue \$ )

4d Other program services (Describe in Schedule O )

(Expenses \$ including grants of \$ ) (Revenue \$ )

4e Total program service expenses \$ 3,007,012. (Must equal Part IX, Line 25, column (B))

**Part IV Checklist of Required Schedules**

	Yes	No
1 Is the organization described in section 501(c)(3) or 4947(a)(1) (other than a private foundation)? If 'Yes,' complete Schedule A	X	
2 Is the organization required to complete Schedule B, Schedule of Contributors?	X	
3 Did the organization engage in direct or indirect political campaign activities on behalf of or in opposition to candidates for public office? If 'Yes,' complete Schedule C, Part I		X
4 Section 501(c)(3) organizations Did the organization engage in lobbying activities? If 'Yes,' complete Schedule C, Part II		X
5 Section 501(c)(4), 501(c)(5), and 501(c)(6) organizations. Is the organization subject to the section 6033(e) notice and reporting requirement and proxy tax? If 'Yes,' complete Schedule C, Part III		
6 Did the organization maintain any donor advised funds or any accounts where donors have the right to provide advice on the distribution or investment of amounts in such funds or accounts? If 'Yes,' complete Schedule D, Part I		X
7 Did the organization receive or hold a conservation easement, including easements to preserve open space, the environment, historic land areas or historic structures? If 'Yes,' complete Schedule D, Part II		X
8 Did the organization maintain collections of works of art, historical treasures, or other similar assets? If 'Yes,' complete Schedule D, Part III		X
9 Did the organization report an amount in Part X, line 21, serve as a custodian for amounts not listed in Part X, or provide credit counseling, debt management, credit repair, or debt negotiation services? If 'Yes,' complete Schedule D, Part IV		X
10 Did the organization hold assets in term, permanent, or quasi-endowments? If 'Yes,' complete Schedule D, Part V		X
11 Did the organization report an amount in Part X, lines 10, 12, 13, 15, or 25? If 'Yes,' complete Schedule D, Parts VI, VII, VIII, IX, or X as applicable	X	
12 Did the organization receive an audited financial statement for the year for which it is completing this return that was prepared in accordance with GAAP? If 'Yes,' complete Schedule D, Parts XI, XII, and XIII	X	
13 Is the organization a school described in section 170(b)(1)(A)(ii)? If 'Yes,' complete Schedule E		X
14a Did the organization maintain an office, employees, or agents outside of the U S ?		X
b Did the organization have aggregate revenues or expenses of more than \$10,000 from grantmaking, fundraising, business, and program service activities outside the U S ? If 'Yes,' complete Schedule F, Part I		X
15 Did the organization report on Part IX, column (A), line 3, more than \$5,000 of grants or assistance to any organization or entity located outside the United States? If 'Yes,' complete Schedule F, Part II		X
16 Did the organization report on Part IX, column (A), line 3, more than \$5,000 of aggregate grants or assistance to individuals located outside the United States? If 'Yes,' complete Schedule F, Part III		X
17 Did the organization report more than \$15,000 on Part IX, column (A), line 11e? If 'Yes,' complete Schedule G, Part I		X
18 Did the organization report more than \$15,000 total on Part VIII, lines 1c and 8a? If 'Yes,' complete Schedule G, Part II		X
19 Did the organization report more than \$15,000 on Part VIII, line 9a? If 'Yes,' complete Schedule G, Part III		X
20 Did the organization operate one or more hospitals? If 'Yes,' complete Schedule H		X
21 Did the organization report more than \$5,000 on Part IX, column (A), line 1? If 'Yes,' complete Schedule I, Parts I and II		X
22 Did the organization report more than \$5,000 on Part IX, column (A), line 2? If 'Yes,' complete Schedule I, Parts I and III		X
23 Did the organization answer 'Yes' to Part VII, Section A, questions 3, 4, or 5? If 'Yes,' complete Schedule J	X	
24a Did the organization have a tax-exempt bond issue with an outstanding principal amount of more than \$100,000 as of the last day of the year, and that was issued after December 31, 2002? If 'Yes,' answer questions 24b-24d and complete Schedule K If 'No,' go to question 25		X
b Did the organization invest any proceeds of tax-exempt bonds beyond a temporary period exception?		
c Did the organization maintain an escrow account other than a refunding escrow at any time during the year to defease any tax-exempt bonds?		
d Did the organization act as an 'on behalf of' issuer for bonds outstanding at any time during the year?		
25a Section 501(c)(3) and 501(c)(4) organizations. Did the organization engage in an excess benefit transaction with a disqualified person during the year? If 'Yes,' complete Schedule L, Part I		X
b Did the organization become aware that it had engaged in an excess benefit transaction with a disqualified person from a prior year? If 'Yes,' complete Schedule L, Part I		X
26 Was a loan to or by a current or former officer, director, trustee, key employee, highly compensated employee, or disqualified person outstanding as of the end of the organization's tax year? If 'Yes,' complete Schedule L, Part II		X
27 Did the organization provide a grant or other assistance to an officer, director, trustee, key employee, or substantial contributor, or to a person related to such an individual? If 'Yes,' complete Schedule L, Part III		X

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**Part IV Checklist of Required Schedules (continued)**

	Yes	No
<b>28</b> During the tax year, did any person who is a current or former officer, director, trustee, or key employee		
<b>a</b> Have a direct business relationship with the organization (other than as an officer, director, trustee, or employee), or an indirect business relationship through ownership of more than 35% in another entity (individually or collectively with other person(s) listed in Part VII, Section A)? <i>If 'Yes,' complete Schedule L, Part IV</i>	<b>28a</b>	X
<b>b</b> Have a family member who had a direct or indirect business relationship with the organization? <i>If 'Yes,' complete Schedule L, Part IV</i>	<b>28b</b>	X
<b>c</b> Serve as an officer, director, trustee, key employee, partner, or member of an entity (or a shareholder of a professional corporation) doing business with the organization? <i>If 'Yes,' complete Schedule L, Part IV</i>	<b>28c</b>	X
<b>29</b> Did the organization receive more than \$25,000 in non-cash contributions? <i>If 'Yes,' complete Schedule M</i>	<b>29</b>	X
<b>30</b> Did the organization receive contributions of art, historical treasures, or other similar assets, or qualified conservation contributions? <i>If 'Yes,' complete Schedule M</i>	<b>30</b>	X
<b>31</b> Did the organization liquidate, terminate, or dissolve and cease operations? <i>If 'Yes,' complete Schedule N, Part I</i>	<b>31</b>	X
<b>32</b> Did the organization sell, exchange, dispose of, or transfer more than 25% of its net assets? <i>If 'Yes,' complete Schedule N, Part II</i>	<b>32</b>	X
<b>33</b> Did the organization own 100% of an entity disregarded as separate from the organization under Regulations sections 301.7701-2 and 301.7701-3? <i>If 'Yes,' complete Schedule R, Part I</i>	<b>33</b>	X
<b>34</b> Was the organization related to any tax-exempt or taxable entity? <i>If 'Yes,' complete Schedule R, Parts II, III, IV, and V, line 1</i>	<b>34</b>	X
<b>35</b> Is any related organization a controlled entity within the meaning of section 512(b)(13)? <i>If 'Yes,' complete Schedule R, Part V, line 2</i>	<b>35</b>	X
<b>36</b> <b>Section 501(c)(3) organizations.</b> Did the organization make any transfers to an exempt non-charitable related organization? <i>If 'Yes,' complete Schedule R, Part V, line 2</i>	<b>36</b>	X
<b>37</b> Did the organization conduct more than 5% of its activities through an entity that is not a related organization and that is treated as a partnership for federal income tax purposes? <i>If 'Yes,' complete Schedule R, Part VI</i>	<b>37</b>	X

BAA

Form 990 (2008)

**Part V Statements Regarding Other IRS Filings and Tax Compliance**

		Yes	No
<b>1 a</b>	Enter the number reported in Box 3 of form 1096, Annual Summary and Transmittal of U.S. Information Returns. Enter -0- if not applicable.		
<b>1 a</b>	21		
<b>1 b</b>	Enter the number of Forms W-2G included in line 1 a. Enter -0- if not applicable.		
<b>1 b</b>	0		
<b>c</b>	Did the organization comply with backup withholding rules for reportable payments to vendors and reportable gaming (gambling) winnings to prize winners?	<b>1 c</b>	X
<b>2 a</b>	Enter the number of employees reported on Form W-3, Transmittal of Wage and Tax Statements, filed for the calendar year ending with or within the year covered by this return.	<b>2 a</b>	5
<b>2 b</b>	If at least one is reported on line 2 a, did the organization file all required federal employment tax returns? <i>Note.</i> If the sum of lines 1 a and 2 a is greater than 250, you may be required to e-file this return (see instructions).	<b>2 b</b>	X
<b>3 a</b>	Did the organization have unrelated business gross income of \$1,000 or more during the year covered by this return?	<b>3 a</b>	X
<b>3 b</b>	If 'Yes,' has it filed a Form 990-T for this year? If 'No,' provide an explanation in Schedule O.	<b>3 b</b>	
<b>4 a</b>	At any time during the calendar year, did the organization have an interest in, or a signature or other authority over, a financial account in a foreign country (such as a bank account, securities account, or other financial account)?	<b>4 a</b>	X
<b>4 b</b>	If 'Yes,' enter the name of the foreign country: _____ See the instructions for exceptions and filing requirements for Form TD F 90-22.1, Report of Foreign Bank and Financial Accounts.		
<b>5 a</b>	Was the organization a party to a prohibited tax shelter transaction at any time during the tax year?	<b>5 a</b>	X
<b>5 b</b>	Did any taxable party notify the organization that it was or is a party to a prohibited tax shelter transaction?	<b>5 b</b>	X
<b>5 c</b>	If 'Yes,' to question 5 a or 5 b, did the organization file Form 8886-T, Disclosure by Tax-Exempt Entity Regarding Prohibited Tax Shelter Transaction?	<b>5 c</b>	
<b>6 a</b>	Did the organization solicit any contributions that were not tax deductible?	<b>6 a</b>	X
<b>6 b</b>	If 'Yes,' did the organization include with every solicitation an express statement that such contributions or gifts were not deductible?	<b>6 b</b>	
<b>7</b>	<b>Organizations that may receive deductible contributions under section 170(c).</b>		
<b>7 a</b>	Did the organization provide goods or services in exchange for any quid pro quo contribution of more than \$75?	<b>7 a</b>	X
<b>7 b</b>	If 'Yes,' did the organization notify the donor of the value of the goods or services provided?	<b>7 b</b>	
<b>7 c</b>	Did the organization sell, exchange, or otherwise dispose of tangible personal property for which it was required to file Form 8282?	<b>7 c</b>	X
<b>7 d</b>	If 'Yes,' indicate the number of Forms 8282 filed during the year.	<b>7 d</b>	
<b>7 e</b>	Did the organization, during the year, receive any funds, directly or indirectly, to pay premiums on a personal benefit contract?	<b>7 e</b>	X
<b>7 f</b>	Did the organization, during the year, pay premiums, directly or indirectly, on a personal benefit contract?	<b>7 f</b>	X
<b>7 g</b>	For all contributions of qualified intellectual property, did the organization file Form 8899 as required?	<b>7 g</b>	X
<b>7 h</b>	For all contributions of cars, boats, airplanes, and other vehicles, did the organization file a Form 1098-C as required?	<b>7 h</b>	X
<b>8</b>	<b>Section 501(c)(3) and other sponsoring organizations maintaining donor advised funds and section 509(a)(3) supporting organizations.</b> Did the supporting organization, or a fund maintained by a sponsoring organization, have excess business holdings at any time during the year?	<b>8</b>	
<b>9</b>	<b>Section 501(c)(3) and other sponsoring organizations maintaining donor advised funds.</b>		
<b>9 a</b>	Did the organization make any taxable distributions under section 4966?	<b>9 a</b>	
<b>9 b</b>	Did the organization make any distribution to a donor, donor advisor, or related person?	<b>9 b</b>	
<b>10</b>	<b>Section 501(c)(7) organizations.</b> Enter		
<b>10 a</b>	Initiation fees and capital contributions included on Part VIII, line 12.	<b>10 a</b>	
<b>10 b</b>	Gross Receipts, included on Form 990, Part VIII, line 12, for public use of club facilities.	<b>10 b</b>	
<b>11</b>	<b>Section 501(c)(12) organizations.</b> Enter		
<b>11 a</b>	Gross income from other members or shareholders.	<b>11 a</b>	
<b>11 b</b>	Gross income from other sources (Do not net amounts due or paid to other sources against amounts due or received from them).	<b>11 b</b>	
<b>12 a</b>	<b>Section 4947(a)(1) non-exempt charitable trusts.</b> Is the organization filing Form 990 in lieu of Form 1041?	<b>12 a</b>	
<b>12 b</b>	If 'Yes,' enter the amount of tax-exempt interest received or accrued during the year.	<b>12 b</b>	

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Form 990 (2008)

**Part VI Governance, Management and Disclosure** (Sections A, B, and C request information about policies not required by the Internal Revenue Code.)

**Section A. Governing Body and Management**

For each 'Yes' response to lines 2-7b below, and for a 'No' response to lines 8 or 9b below, describe the circumstances, processes, or changes in Schedule O See instructions

	Yes	No
<b>1 a</b> Enter the number of voting members of the governing body		
<b>1 b</b> Enter the number of voting members that are independent		
<b>2</b> Did any officer, director, trustee, or key employee have a family relationship or a business relationship with any other officer, director, trustee or key employee?		X
<b>3</b> Did the organization delegate control over management duties customarily performed by or under the direct supervision of officers, directors or trustees, or key employees to a management company or other person?		X
<b>4</b> Did the organization make any significant changes to its organizational documents since the prior Form 990 was filed?		X
<b>5</b> Did the organization become aware during the year of a material diversion of the organization's assets?		X
<b>6</b> Does the organization have members or stockholders? SEE SCHEDULE O	X	
<b>7 a</b> Does the organization have members, stockholders, or other persons who may elect one or more members of the governing body?		X
<b>7 b</b> Are any decisions of the governing body subject to approval by members, stockholders, or other persons?		X
<b>8</b> Did the organization contemporaneously document the meetings held or written actions undertaken during the year by the following		
<b>a</b> The governing body?	X	
<b>b</b> Each committee with authority to act on behalf of the governing body?		X
<b>9 a</b> Does the organization have local chapters, branches, or affiliates?		X
<b>b</b> If 'Yes,' does the organization have written policies and procedures governing the activities of such chapters, affiliates, and branches to ensure their operations are consistent with those of the organization?		
<b>10</b> Was a copy of the Form 990 provided to the organization's governing body before it was filed? All organizations must describe in Schedule O the process, if any, the organization uses to review the Form 990 SEE SCHEDULE O	X	
<b>11</b> Is there any officer, director or trustee, or key employee listed in Part VII, Section A, who cannot be reached at the organization's mailing address? If 'Yes,' provide the names and addresses in Schedule O		X

**Section B. Policies**

	Yes	No
<b>12 a</b> Does the organization have a written conflict of interest policy? If 'No,' go to line 13	X	
<b>b</b> Are officers, directors or trustees, and key employees required to disclose annually interests that could give rise to conflicts?		X
<b>c</b> Does the organization regularly and consistently monitor and enforce compliance with the policy? If 'Yes,' describe in Schedule O how this is done SEE SCHEDULE O	X	
<b>13</b> Does the organization have a written whistleblower policy?	X	
<b>14</b> Does the organization have a written document retention and destruction policy?	X	
<b>15</b> Did the process for determining compensation of the following persons include a review and approval by independent persons, comparability data, and contemporaneous substantiation of the deliberation and decision:		
<b>a</b> The organization's CEO, Executive Director, or top management official?	X	
<b>b</b> Other officers of key employees of the organization? SEE SCHEDULE O Describe the process in Schedule O (see instructions)		X
<b>16 a</b> Did the organization invest in, contribute assets to, or participate in a joint venture or similar arrangement with a taxable entity during the year?		X
<b>b</b> If 'Yes,' has the organization adopted a written policy or procedure requiring the organization to evaluate its participation in joint venture arrangements under applicable federal tax law, and taken steps to safeguard the organization's exempt status with respect to such arrangements?		

**Section C. Disclosures**

- 17** List the states with which a copy of this Form 990 is required to be filed ▶ NONE
- 18** Section 6104 requires an organization to make its Forms 1023 (or 1024 if applicable), 990, and 990-T (501(c)(3)s only) available for public inspection. Indicate how you make these available. Check all that apply.  
 Own website     Another's website     Upon request
- 19** Describe in Schedule O whether (and if so, how) the organization makes its governing documents, conflict of interest policy, and financial statements available to the public. SEE SCHEDULE O
- 20** State the name, physical address, and telephone number of the person who possesses the books and records of the organization.  
 ▶ JANET BROWN 1200 NEW HAMPSHIRE AVE., NW WASHINGTON DC 20036-6802 202-872-1020

**Part VII Compensation of Officers, Directors, Trustees, Key Employees, Highest Compensated Employees, and Independent Contractors**

**Section A. Officers, Directors, Trustees, Key Employees, and Highest Compensated Employees**

1a Complete this table for all persons required to be listed. Use Schedule J-2 if additional space is needed.

- List all of the organization's current officers, directors, trustees (whether individuals or organizations), regardless of amount of compensation, and current key employees. Enter -0- in columns (D), (E), and (F) if no compensation was paid.
- List the organization's five current highest compensated employees (other than an officer, director, trustee, or key employee) who received reportable compensation (Box 5 of Form W-2 and/or Box 7 of Form 1099-MISC) or more than \$100,000 from the organization and any related organizations.
- List all of the organization's former officers, key employees, and highest compensated employees who received more than \$100,000 of reportable compensation from the organization and any related organizations.
- List all of the organization's former directors or trustees that received, in the capacity as a former director or trustee of the organization, more than \$10,000 of reportable compensation from the organization and any related organizations.

List persons in the following order: individual trustees or directors; institutional trustees; officers; key employees; highest compensated employees; and former such persons.

Check this box if the organization did not compensate any officer, director, trustee, or key employee

(A) Name and Title	(B) Average hours per week	(C) Position (check all that apply)						(D) Reportable compensation from the organization (W-2/1099-MISC)	(E) Reportable compensation from related organizations (W-2/1099-MISC)	(F) Estimated amount of other compensation from the organization and related organizations
		Individual trustee or director	Institutional trustee	Officer	Key employee	Highest compensated employee	Former			
FRANK J. FAHRENKOPF, JR. CO-CHAIRMAN	1	X		X			0.	0.	0.	
PAUL G. KIRK, JR. CO-CHAIRMAN	1	X		X			0.	0.	0.	
NEWTON N. MINOW VICE-CHAIRMAN	1	X		X			0.	0.	0.	
JOHN C. DANFORTH VICE-CHAIRMAN	1	X		X			0.	0.	0.	
ANTONIA HERNANDEZ SECRETARY	1	X		X			0.	0.	0.	
H. PATRICK SWYGERT DIRECTOR	1	X					0.	0.	0.	
MICHAEL D. MCCURRY DIRECTOR	1	X					0.	0.	0.	
CAROLINE KENNEDY DIRECTOR	1	X					0.	0.	0.	
JANET H. BROWN EXEC. DIRECTOR	40			X			200,000.	0.	46,000.	
HOWARD G. BUFFET TREASURER	1	X		X			0.	0.	0.	
DOROTHY RIDINGS DIRECTOR	1	X					0.	0.	0.	
SEN. ALAN K. SIMPSON DIRECTOR	1	X					0.	0.	0.	



**Part VIII Statement of Revenue**

			(A) Total revenue	(B) Related or exempt function revenue	(C) Unrelated business revenue	(D) Revenue excluded from tax under sections 512, 513, or 514
CONTRIBUTIONS, GIFTS, GRANTS AND OTHER SIMILAR AMOUNTS	1 a Federated campaigns	1 a				
	b Membership dues	1 b				
	c Fundraising events	1 c				
	d Related organizations	1 d				
	e Government grants (contributions)	1 e				
	f All other contributions, gifts, grants, and similar amounts not included above	1 f	1,085,000.			
	g Noncash contribns included in lns 1a-1f	\$				
	<b>h Total. Add lines 1a-1f</b>		<b>1,085,000.</b>			
PROGRAM SERVICE REVENUE	Business Code					
	2 a					
	b					
	c					
	d					
	e					
	<b>g Total. Add lines 2a-2f</b>					
OTHER REVENUE	3 Investment income (including dividends, interest and other similar amounts)		125,711.			125,711.
	4 Income from investment of tax-exempt bond proceeds					
	5 Royalties					
	6 a Gross Rents	(i) Real (ii) Personal	2,400.			
	b Less rental expenses					
	c Rental income or (loss)		2,400.			
	<b>d Net rental income or (loss)</b>		<b>2,400.</b>			<b>2,400.</b>
	7 a Gross amount from sales of assets other than inventory	(i) Securities (ii) Other				
	b Less cost or other basis and sales expenses					
	c Gain or (loss)					
	<b>d Net gain or (loss)</b>					
	8 a Gross income from fundraising events (not including \$ _____ of contributions reported on line 1c) See Part IV, line 18	a				
	b Less direct expenses	b				
	<b>c Net income or (loss) from fundraising events</b>					
	9 a Gross income from gaming activities See Part IV, line 19	a				
	b Less direct expenses	b				
	<b>c Net income or (loss) from gaming activities</b>					
	10 a Gross sales of inventory, less returns and allowances	a				
b Less cost of goods sold	b					
<b>c Net income or (loss) from sales of inventory</b>						
Miscellaneous Revenue		Business Code				
11 a OTHER INCOME			198.	198.		
b						
c						
d All other revenue						
<b>e Total. Add lines 11a-11d</b>			<b>198.</b>			
<b>12 Total Revenue. Add lines 1h, 2g, 3, 4, 5, 6d, 7d, 8c, 9c, 10c, and 11e</b>			<b>1,213,309.</b>	<b>198.</b>	<b>0.</b>	<b>128,111.</b>

**Part IX Statement of Functional Expenses**

Section 501(c)(3) and 501(c)(4) organizations must complete all columns.

All other organizations must complete column (A) but are not required to complete columns (B), (C), and (D).

Do not include amounts reported on lines 6b, 7b, 8b, 9b, and 10b of Part VIII.	(A) Total expenses	(B) Program service expenses	(C) Management and general expenses	(D) Fundraising expenses
1 Grants and other assistance to governments and organizations in the U S See Part IV, line 21				
2 Grants and other assistance to individuals in the U S See Part IV, line 22				
3 Grants and other assistance to governments, organizations, and individuals outside the U S See Part IV, lines 15 and 16				
4 Benefits paid to or for members				
5 Compensation of current officers, directors, trustees, and key employees	200,000.	150,000.	40,000.	10,000.
6 Compensation not included above, to disqualified persons (as defined under section 4958(f)(1)) and persons described in section 4958(c)(3)(B)	0.	0.	0.	0.
7 Other salaries and wages	133,750.	93,625.	40,125.	
8 Pension plan contributions (include section 401(k) and section 403(b) employer contributions)	67,250.	49,765.	14,795.	2,690.
9 Other employee benefits	10,338.		10,338.	
10 Payroll taxes	21,255.	15,729.	4,676.	850.
11 Fees for services (non-employees)				
a Management				
b Legal	50,732.		50,732.	
c Accounting	68,207.		68,207.	
d Lobbying				
e Prof fundraising svcs See Part IV, ln 17				
f Investment management fees				
g Other				
12 Advertising and promotion				
13 Office expenses	33,849.		33,849.	
14 Information technology				
15 Royalties				
16 Occupancy	105,983.		105,983.	
17 Travel	307,348.	307,348.		
18 Payments of travel or entertainment expenses for any federal, state, or local public officials				
19 Conferences, conventions, and meetings				
20 Interest				
21 Payments to affiliates				
22 Depreciation, depletion, and amortization	7,956.		7,956.	
23 Insurance	37,777.		37,777.	
24 Other expenses Itemize expenses not covered above (Expenses grouped together and labeled miscellaneous may not exceed 5% of total expenses shown on line 25 below )				
a PRODUCTION STAFF EXPENSE	789,347.	789,347.		
b SET CONSTRUCTION	699,174.	699,174.		
c STAGE CREW	599,929.	599,929.		
d ACCREDITATION	95,500.	95,500.		
e CONSULTING	90,641.	75,000.	15,641.	
f All other expenses	173,547.	131,595.	41,952.	
25 Total functional expenses Add lines 1 through 24f	3,492,583.	3,007,012.	472,031.	13,540.
26 Joint Costs. Check here <input type="checkbox"/> if following SOP 98-2 Complete this line only if the organization reported in column (B) joint costs from a combined educational campaign and fundraising solicitation				

BAA

**Part X Balance Sheet**

		(A) Beginning of year		(B) End of year
ASSETS	1 Cash – non-interest-bearing	231,995.	1	87,882.
	2 Savings and temporary cash investments	3,992,982.	2	3,368,518.
	3 Pledges and grants receivable, net		3	
	4 Accounts receivable, net	1,450,000.	4	18,576.
	5 Receivables from current and former officers, directors, trustees, key employees, or other related parties Complete Part II of Schedule L		5	
	6 Receivables from other disqualified persons (as defined under section 4958(f)(1)) and persons described in section 4958(c)(3)(B) Complete Part II of Schedule L		6	
	7 Notes and loans receivable, net		7	
	8 Inventories for sale or use		8	
	9 Prepaid expenses and deferred charges	46,724.	9	125,128.
	10a Land, buildings, and equipment cost basis	79,425.		
	10b Less accumulated depreciation Complete Part VI of Schedule D	62,972.	16,136.	10c 16,453.
	11 Investments – publicly-traded securities		11	
	12 Investments – other securities See Part IV, line 11		12	
	13 Investments – program-related See Part IV, line 11		13	
	14 Intangible assets		14	
	15 Other assets See Part IV, line 11	7,899.	15	7,899.
16 <b>Total assets</b> Add lines 1 through 15 (must equal line 34)	5,745,736.	16	3,624,456.	
LIABILITIES	17 Accounts payable and accrued expenses	10,366.	17	168,360.
	18 Grants payable		18	
	19 Deferred revenue		19	
	20 Tax-exempt bond liabilities		20	
	21 Escrow account liability Complete Part IV of Schedule D		21	
	22 Payables to current and former officers, directors, trustees, key employees, highest compensated employees, and disqualified persons Complete Part II of Schedule L		22	
	23 Secured mortgages and notes payable to unrelated third parties		23	
	24 Unsecured notes and loans payable		24	
	25 Other liabilities Complete Part X of Schedule D	1.	25	
	26 <b>Total liabilities.</b> Add lines 17 through 25	10,367.	26	168,360.
NET ASSETS OR FUND BALANCES	<b>Organizations that follow SFAS 117, check here <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> and complete lines 27 through 29 and lines 33 and 34.</b>			
	27 Unrestricted net assets	5,735,369.	27	3,456,096.
	28 Temporarily restricted net assets		28	
	29 Permanently restricted net assets		29	
	<b>Organizations that do not follow SFAS 117, check here <input type="checkbox"/> and complete lines 30 through 34.</b>			
	30 Capital stock or trust principal, or current funds		30	
	31 Paid-in or capital surplus, or land, building, and equipment fund		31	
	32 Retained earnings, endowment, accumulated income, or other funds		32	
	33 <b>Total net assets or fund balances.</b>	5,735,369.	33	3,456,096.
34 <b>Total liabilities and net assets/fund balances</b>	5,745,736.	34	3,624,456.	

**Part XI Financial Statements and Reporting**

- 1 Accounting method used to prepare the Form 990  Cash  Accrual  Other
- 2a Were the organization's financial statements compiled or reviewed by an independent accountant?
- b Were the organization's financial statements audited by an independent accountant?
- c If 'Yes' to 2a or 2b, does the organization have a committee that assumes responsibility for oversight of the audit, review, or compilation of its financial statements and selection of an independent accountant?
- 3a As a result of a federal award, was the organization required to undergo an audit or audits as set forth in the Single Audit Act and OMB Circular A-133?
- b If 'Yes,' did the organization undergo the required audit or audits?

	Yes	No
2a		X
2b	X	
2c	X	
3a		X
3b		



**Part II Support Schedule for Organizations Described in Sections 170(b)(1)(A)(iv) and 170(b)(1)(A)(vi)**

(Complete only if you checked the box on line 5, 7, or 8 of Part I.)

**Section A. Public Support**

Calendar year (or fiscal year beginning in) ▶	(a) 2004	(b) 2005	(c) 2006	(d) 2007	(e) 2008	(f) Total
1 Gifts, grants, contributions and membership fees received (Do not include 'unusual grants')	4,129,000.	529.	90,000.	5,750,042.	1,085,000.	11,054,571.
2 Tax revenues levied for the organization's benefit and either paid to it or expended on its behalf						0.
3 The value of services or facilities furnished to the organization by a governmental unit without charge. Do not include the value of services or facilities generally furnished to the public without charge						0.
4 Total. Add lines 1-3	4,129,000.	529.	90,000.	5,750,042.	1,085,000.	11,054,571.
5 The portion of total contributions by each person (other than a governmental unit or publicly supported organization) included on line 1 that exceeds 2% of the amount shown on line 11, column (f)						1,797,464.
6 Public support. Subtract line 5 from line 4						9,257,107.

**Section B. Total Support**

Calendar year (or fiscal year beginning in) ▶	(a) 2004	(b) 2005	(c) 2006	(d) 2007	(e) 2008	(f) Total
7 Amounts from line 4	4,129,000.	529.	90,000.	5,750,042.	1,085,000.	11,054,571.
8 Gross income from interest, dividends, payments received on securities loans, rents, royalties and income from similar sources	23,959.	30,190.	22,750.	20,631.	125,711.	223,241.
9 Net income from unrelated business activities, whether or not the business is regularly carried on						0.
10 Other income. Do not include gain or loss from the sale of capital assets (Explain in Part IV.) SEE PART IV	20,145.	600.	9,297.	2,925.	2,598.	35,565.
11 Total support. Add lines 7 through 10						11,313,377.
12 Gross receipts from related activities, etc (see instructions)					12	0.
13 First five years. If the Form 990 is for the organization's first, second, third, fourth, or fifth tax year as a section 501(c)(3) organization, check this box and stop here ▶ <input type="checkbox"/>						

**Section C. Computation of Public Support Percentage**

14 Public support percentage for 2008 (line 6, column (f) divided by line 11, column (f))	14	81.8 %
15 Public support percentage for 2007 Schedule A, Part IV-A, line 26f	15	75.9 %
16a 33-1/3 support test – 2008. If the organization did not check the box on line 13, and the line 14 is 33-1/3 % or more, check this box and stop here. The organization qualifies as a publicly supported organization ▶ <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		
b 33-1/3 support test – 2007. If the organization did not check a box on line 13, or 16a, and line 15 is 33-1/3% or more, check this box and stop here. The organization qualifies as a publicly supported organization ▶ <input type="checkbox"/>		
17a 10%-facts-and-circumstances test – 2008. If the organization did not check a box on line 13, 16a, or 16b, and line 14 is 10% or more, and if the organization meets the 'facts-and-circumstances' test, check this box and stop here. Explain in Part IV how the organization meets the 'facts-and-circumstances' test. The organization qualifies as a publicly supported organization ▶ <input type="checkbox"/>		
b 10%-facts-and-circumstances test – 2007. If the organization did not check a box on line 13, 16a, 16b, or 17a, and line 15 is 10% or more, and if the organization meets the 'facts-and-circumstances' test, check this box and stop here. Explain in Part IV how the organization meets the 'facts-and-circumstances' test. The organization qualifies as a publicly supported organization ▶ <input type="checkbox"/>		
18 Private foundation. If the organization did not check a box on line 13, 16a, 16b, 17a, or 17b, check this box and see instructions ▶ <input type="checkbox"/>		

**Part III Support Schedule for Organizations Described in Section 509(a)(2)**

(Complete only if you checked the box on line 9 of Part I)

**Section A. Public Support**

Calendar year (or fiscal yr beginning in) ▶	(a) 2004	(b) 2005	(c) 2006	(d) 2007	(e) 2008	(f) Total
<b>1</b> Gifts, grants, contributions and membership fees received (Do not include unusual grants)						
<b>2</b> Gross receipts from admissions, merchandise sold or services performed, or facilities furnished in a activity that is related to the organization's tax-exempt purpose						
<b>3</b> Gross receipts from activities that are not an unrelated trade or business under section 513						
<b>4</b> Tax revenues levied for the organization's benefit and either paid to or expended on its behalf						
<b>5</b> The value of services or facilities furnished by a governmental unit to the organization without charge						
<b>6 Total.</b> Add lines 1-5						
<b>7a</b> Amounts included on lines 1, 2, 3 received from disqualified persons						
<b>b</b> Amounts included on lines 2 and 3 received from other than disqualified persons that exceed the greater of 1% of the total of lines 9, 10c, 11, and 12 for the year or \$5,000						
<b>c</b> Add lines 7a and 7b						
<b>8 Public support</b> (Subtract line 7c from line 6)						

**Section B. Total Support**

Calendar year (or fiscal yr beginning in) ▶	(a) 2004	(b) 2005	(c) 2006	(d) 2007	(e) 2008	(f) Total
<b>9</b> Amounts from line 6						
<b>10a</b> Gross income from interest, dividends, payments received on securities loans, rents, royalties and income from similar sources						
<b>b</b> Unrelated business taxable income (less section 511 taxes) from businesses acquired after June 30, 1975						
<b>c</b> Add lines 10a and 10b						
<b>11</b> Net income from unrelated business activities not included in line 10b, whether or not the business is regularly carried on						
<b>12</b> Other income Do not include gain or loss from the sale of capital assets (Explain in Part IV)						
<b>13 Total support.</b> (add lns 9, 10c, 11, and 12)						
<b>14 First five years.</b> If the Form 990 is for the organization's first, second, third, fourth, or fifth tax year as a section 501(c)(3) organization, check this box and stop here <input type="checkbox"/>						

**Section C. Computation of Public Support Percentage**

<b>15</b> Public support percentage for 2008 (line 8, column (f) divided by line 13, column (f))	<b>15</b>	%
<b>16</b> Public support percentage from 2007 Schedule A, Part IV-A, line 27g	<b>16</b>	%

**Section D. Computation of Investment Income Percentage**

<b>17</b> Investment income percentage for 2008 (line 10c, column (f) divided by line 13, column (f))	<b>17</b>	%
<b>18</b> Investment income percentage from 2007 Schedule A, Part IV-A, line 27h	<b>18</b>	%

**19a 33-1/3 support tests - 2008.** If the organization did not check the box on line 14, and line 15 is more than 33-1/3%, and line 17 is not more than 33-1/3%, check this box and stop here. The organization qualifies as a publicly supported organization

**b 33-1/3 support tests - 2007.** If the organization did not check a box on line 14 or 19a, and line 16 is more than 33-1/3%, and line 18 is not more than 33-1/3%, check this box and stop here. The organization qualifies as a publicly supported organization

**20 Private foundation.** If the organization did not check a box on line 14, 19a, or 19b, check this box and see instructions



SCHEDULE D (Form 990)

Supplemental Financial Statements

OMB No 1545 0047

2008

Open to Public Inspection

Department of the Treasury Internal Revenue Service

Attach to Form 990. To be completed by organizations that answered 'Yes,' to Form 990, Part IV, lines 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, or 12.

Name of the organization

Employer identification number

COMMISSION ON PRESIDENTIAL DEBATES

52-1500977

Part I Organizations Maintaining Donor Advised Funds or Other Similar Funds or Accounts Complete if the organization answered 'Yes' to Form 990, Part IV, line 6.

Table with 2 columns: (a) Donor advised funds, (b) Funds and other accounts. Rows include: 1 Total number at end of year, 2 Aggregate contributions to (during year), 3 Aggregate grants from (during year), 4 Aggregate value at end of year, 5 Did the organization inform all donors...?, 6 Did the organization inform all grantees...?

Part II Conservation Easements Complete if the organization answered 'Yes' to Form 990, Part IV, line 7

Table with 2 columns: Description, Held at the End of the Year. Rows include: 1 Purpose(s) of conservation easements held by the organization, 2 Complete lines 2a-2d if the organization held a qualified conservation contribution..., 3 Number of conservation easements modified..., 4 Number of states where properly subject to conservation easement is located..., 5 Does the organization have a written policy..., 6 Staff or volunteer hours devoted..., 7 Amount of expenses incurred..., 8 Does each conservation easement reported..., 9 In Part XIV, describe how the organization reports...

Part III Organizations Maintaining Collections of Art, Historical Treasures, or Other Similar Assets Complete if the organization answered 'Yes' to Form 990, Part IV, line 8.

Table with 2 columns: Description, Amount. Rows include: 1a If the organization elected, as permitted under SFAS 116, not to report..., 1b If the organization elected, as permitted under SFAS 116, not to report..., 2 If the organization received or held works of art, historical treasures, or other similar assets for financial gain...

**Part III Organizations Maintaining Collections of Art, Historical Treasures, or Other Similar Assets (continued)**

3 Using the organization's accession and other records, check any of the following that are a significant use of its collection items (check all that apply)

- a  Public exhibition
- b  Scholarly research
- c  Preservation for future generations
- d  Loan or exchange programs
- e  Other \_\_\_\_\_

4 Provide a description of the organization's collections and explain how they further the organization's exempt purpose in Part XIV

5 During the year, did the organization solicit or receive donations of art, historical treasures, or other similar assets to be sold to raise funds rather than to be maintained as part of the organization's collection?  Yes  No

**Part IV Trust, Escrow and Custodial Arrangements** Complete if organization answered 'Yes' to Form 990, Part IV, line 9, or reported an amount on Form 990, Part X, line 21.

1a Is the organization an agent, trustee, custodian, or other intermediary for contributions or other assets not included on Form 990, Part X?  Yes  No

b If 'Yes,' explain the arrangement in Part XIV and complete the following table

	Amount
1c Beginning balance	
1d Additions during the year	
1e Distributions during the year	
1f Ending balance	

2a Did the organization include an amount on Form 990, Part X, line 21?  Yes  No

b If 'Yes,' explain the arrangement in Part XIV

**Part V Endowment Funds** Complete if organization answered 'Yes' to Form 990, Part IV, line 10.

	(a) Current year	(b) Prior year	(c) Two years back	(d) Three years back	(e) Four years back
1a Beginning of year balance					
b Contributions					
c Investment earnings or losses					
d Grants or scholarships					
e Other expenditures for facilities and programs					
f Administrative expenses					
g End of year balance					

2 Provide the estimated percentage of the year end balance held as

- a Board designated or quasi-endowment ▶ \_\_\_\_\_ %
- b Permanent endowment ▶ \_\_\_\_\_ %
- c Term endowment ▶ \_\_\_\_\_ %

3a Are there endowment funds not in the possession of the organization that are held and administered for the organization by

- (i) unrelated organizations
- (ii) related organizations

	Yes	No
3a(i)		
3a(ii)		
3b		

b If 'Yes' to 3a(ii), are the related organizations listed as required on Schedule R?

4 Describe in Part XIV the intended uses of the organization's endowment funds

**Part VI Investments—Land, Buildings, and Equipment.** See Form 990, Part X, line 10.

Description of investment	(a) Cost or other basis (investment)	(b) Cost or other basis (other)	(c) Depreciation	(d) Book Value
1a Land				
b Buildings				
c Leasehold improvements				
d Equipment		75,287.	58,834.	16,453.
e Other		4,138.	4,138.	0.
<b>Total.</b> Add lines 1a-1e (Column (d) should equal Form 990, Part X, column (B), line 10(c) ▶				16,453.

BAA



**Part XI Reconciliation of Change in Net Assets from Form 990 to Financial Statements**

1	Total revenue (Form 990, Part VIII, column (A), line 12)		1,213,309.
2	Total expenses (Form 990, Part IX, column (A), line 25)		3,492,583.
3	Excess or (deficit) for the year Subtract line 2 from line 1		-2,279,274.
4	Net unrealized gains (losses) on investments		
5	Donated services and use of facilities		
6	Investment expenses		
7	Prior period adjustments		
8	Other (Describe in Part XIV)		
9	Total adjustments (net) Add lines 4-8		
10	Excess or (deficit) for the year per financial statements Combine lines 3 and 9		-2,279,274.

**Part XII Reconciliation of Revenue per Audited Financial Statements With Revenue per Return**

1	Total revenue, gains, and other support per audited financial statements		1	1,213,309.
2	Amounts included on line 1 but not on Form 990, Part VIII, line 12			
	a Net unrealized gains on investments	2a		
	b Donated services and use of facilities	2b		
	c Recoveries of prior year grants	2c		
	d Other (Describe in Part XIV)	2d		
	e Add lines 2a through 2d		2e	
3	Subtract line 2e from line 1		3	1,213,309.
4	Amounts included on Form 990, Part VIII, line 12, but not on line 1			
	a Investments expenses not included on Form 990, Part VIII, line 7b	4a		
	b Other (Describe in Part XIV)	4b		
	c Add lines 4a and 4b		4c	
5	Total revenue Add lines 3 and 4c. (This should equal Form 990, Part I, line 12)		5	1,213,309.

**Part XIII Reconciliation of Expenses per Audited Financial Statements With Expenses per Return**

1	Total expenses and losses per audited financial statements		1	3,492,583.
2	Amounts included on line 1 but not on Form 990, Part IX, line 25			
	a Donated services and use of facilities	2a		
	b Prior year adjustments	2b		
	c Losses reported on Form 990, Part IX, line 25	2c		
	d Other (Describe in Part XIV)	2d		
	e Add lines 2a through 2d		2e	
3	Subtract line 2e from line 1		3	3,492,583.
4	Amounts included on Form 990, Part IX, line 25, but not on line 1:			
	a Investments expenses not included on Form 990, Part VIII, line 7b	4a		
	b Other (Describe in Part XIV)	4b		
	c Add lines 4a and 4b		4c	
5	Total expenses Add lines 3 and 4c (This should equal Form 990, Part I, line 18)		5	3,492,583.

**Part XIV Supplemental Information**

Complete this part to provide the descriptions required for Part II, lines 3, 5, and 9, Part III, lines 1a and 4, Part IV, lines 1b and 2b, Part V, line 4, Part X, Part XI, line 8, Part XII, lines 2d and 4b, and Part XIII, lines 2d and 4b

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**Part XIV** Supplemental Information *(continued)*

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**SCHEDULE J**  
**(Form 990)**

**Compensation Information**

For certain Officers, Directors, Trustees, Key Employees, and Highest Compensated Employees

OMB No 1545 0047

**2008**

Open to Public Inspection

Department of the Treasury  
Internal Revenue Service

Attach to Form 990. To be completed by organizations that answered 'Yes' to Form 990, Part IV, line 23.

Name of the organization

COMMISSION ON PRESIDENTIAL DEBATES

Employer identification number

52-1500977

**Part I Questions Regarding Compensation**

**1 a** Check the appropriate box(es) if the organization provided any of the following to or for a person listed in Form 990, Part VII, Section A, line 1a. Complete Part III to provide any relevant information regarding these items

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> First-class or charter travel             | <input type="checkbox"/> Housing allowance or residence for personal use |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Travel for companions                     | <input type="checkbox"/> Payments for business use of personal residence |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Tax indemnification and gross-up payments | <input type="checkbox"/> Health or social club dues or initiation fees   |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Discretionary spending account            | <input type="checkbox"/> Personal services (e.g., maid, chauffeur, chef) |

**b** If line 1a is checked, did the organization follow a written policy regarding payment or reimbursement or provision of all of the expenses described above? If 'No,' complete Part III to explain

**2** Did the organization require substantiation prior to reimbursing or allowing expenses incurred by all officers, directors, trustees, and the CEO/Executive Director, regarding the items checked in line 1a?

**3** Indicate which, if any, of the following organization uses to establish the compensation of the organization's CEO/Executive Director. Check all that apply

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Compensation committee              | <input type="checkbox"/> Written employment contract                     |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Independent compensation consultant | <input type="checkbox"/> Compensation survey or study                    |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Form 990 of other organizations     | <input type="checkbox"/> Approval by the board or compensation committee |

**4** During the year, did any person listed in Form 990, Part VII, Section A, line 1a

**a** Receive a severance payment or change of control payment?

**b** Participate in, or receive payment from, a supplemental nonqualified retirement plan?

**c** Participate in, or receive payment from, an equity-based compensation arrangement?

If 'Yes' to any of 4a-c, list the persons and provide the applicable amounts for each item in Part III

**Only 501(c)(3) and 501(c)(4) organizations must complete lines 5-8.**

**5** For persons listed in Form 990, Part VII, Section A, line 1a, did the organization pay or accrue any compensation contingent on the revenues of

**a** The organization?

**b** Any related organization?

If 'Yes' to line 5a or 5b, describe in Part III

**6** For persons listed in Form 990, Part VII, Section A, line 1a, did the organization pay or accrue any compensation contingent on the net earnings of

**a** The organization?

**b** Any related organization?

If 'Yes' to line 6a or 6b, describe in Part III

**7** For person listed in Form 990, Part VII, Section A, line 1a, did the organization provide any non-fixed payments not described in lines 5 and 6? If 'Yes,' describe in Part III

**8** Were any amounts reported in Form 990, Part VII, paid or accrued pursuant to a contract that was subject to the initial contract exception described in Regs. section 53.4958-4(a)(3)? If 'Yes,' describe in Part III

	Yes	No
<b>1 b</b>		
<b>2</b>		
<b>4 a</b>		X
<b>4 b</b>		X
<b>4 c</b>		X
<b>5 a</b>		X
<b>5 b</b>		X
<b>6 a</b>		X
<b>6 b</b>		X
<b>7</b>		X
<b>8</b>		X

BAA For Privacy Act and Paperwork Reduction Act Notice, see the Instructions for Form 990.

Schedule J (Form 990) 2008





**SCHEDULE O**  
**(Form 990)**

**Supplemental Information to Form 990**

OMB No 1545 0047

**2008**

**Open to Public Inspection**

Department of the Treasury  
Internal Revenue Service

► Attach to Form 990. To be completed by organizations to provide additional information for responses to specific questions for the Form 990 or to provide any additional information.

Name of the organization

Employer identification number

**COMMISSION ON PRESIDENTIAL DEBATES**

**52-1500977**

**FORM 990, PART VI, LINE 6 - EXPLANATION OF CLASSES OF MEMBERS OR SHAREHOLDER**

**BY DEFINITION FOR FORM 990, THE DIRECTORS ARE MEMBERS.**

**FORM 990, PART VI, LINE 10 - FORM 990 REVIEW PROCESS**

**THE FORM 990 IS PREPARED BY THE COMMISSION'S INDEPENDENT ACCOUNTING FIRM AND THEN REVIEWED BY THE COMMISSION'S EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, AUDIT COMMITTEE AND GENERAL COUNSEL. IT IS THEN DISTRIBUTED TO ALL MEMBERS OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS PRIOR TO FILING.**

**FORM 990, PART VI, LINE 12C - EXPLANATION OF MONITORING AND ENFORCEMENT OF C**

**THE COMMISSION ENSURES COMPLIANCE WITH ITS CONFLICT OF INTEREST POLICY IN MULTIPLE WAYS. THE COMMISSION'S TRANSACTIONS ARE FEW ENOUGH IN NUMBER THAT THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR IS ABLE TO MONITOR FOR ANY TRANSACTION THAT MIGHT IMPLICATE THE POLICY. IN ADDITION, THE POLICY IS REVIEWED PERIODICALLY WITH THOSE SUBJECT TO IT, INCLUDING AT THE COMMISSION'S ANNUAL MEETING OF ITS BOARD OF DIRECTORS.**

**FORM 990, PART VI, LINE 15B - COMPENSATION REVIEW & APPROVAL PROCESS FOR OFFICERS & KEY EMPLOYEE**

**THE CO-CHAIRMEN DETERMINE THE COMPENSATION FOR THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR BY REVIEWING COMPARABLE NON-PROFIT SALARIES. THIS IS THEN SUBJECT TO REVIEW BY THE AUDIT COMMITTEE.**

**FORM 990, PART VI, LINE 19 - OTHER ORGANIZATION DOCUMENTS PUBLICLY AVAILABLE**

**DOCUMENTS ARE AVAILABLE UPON REQUEST.**

1120001120001

## PART II, LINE 10 - OTHER INCOME

NATURE AND SOURCE	2008	2007	2006	2005	2004
OTHER INCOME	198.		8,697.		
RENT INCOME	2,400.	2,400.	600.	600.	20,750.
NET INCOME FROM NONINVENTORY SALES					
		525.			-605.
TOTAL	\$ 2,598.	\$ 2,925.	\$ 9,297.	\$ 600.	\$ 20,145.

1-0007-11/14/2008-1

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# Exhibit 93

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format

POLITICS AND POLICY

# Corporate Political Giving Swings Toward the GOP

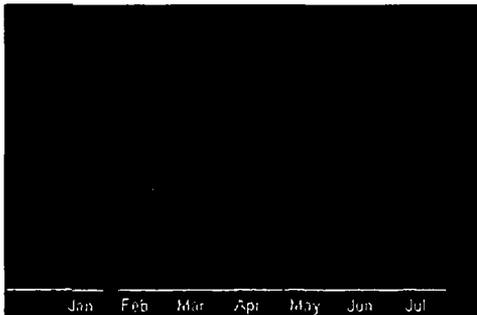
By BRODY MULLINS And ALICIA MUNDY

Updated Sept. 21, 2010 12:01 a.m. ET

Corporations have begun to send a majority of donations from their political action committees to Republican candidates, a reversal from the trend of the past three years.

## Shift to the GOP

See donations to Republican and Democratic candidates from corporations' political action committees.



More photos and interactive graphics

The change in corporate PAC giving is the latest sign Republicans are likely to make significant gains in November's midterm elections. Business PACs are notoriously cautious in deciding which party should receive a majority of their donations. They nearly always give most of their contributions to candidates whose political party is in power on Capitol Hill.

According to data from the Center for Responsive Politics, business PACs gave 52% of their \$72.2 million in total donations to Republican candidates from January through July.

In the same period of 2009, corporate PACs had sent 59% of their \$64 million in campaign contributions to Democratic candidates, according to the data. AT&T Corp.

and GlaxoSmithKline PLC are among the companies whose PAC donations shifted this year toward GOP candidates.

The PAC donations are given directly to candidates and are separate from contributions to independent political groups that are becoming a larger force in politics. The Journal reported last week that corporate and conservative groups plan to spend about \$300 million on TV ads and other efforts to elect Republican candidates this fall, rivaling efforts of labor unions and liberal-leaning groups to back Democrats.

Business PACs began shifting toward Democrats late in the 2006 midterm elections, when it became clear Democrats would win control of Congress. Democrats claimed a majority of business PAC donations for the three following years. Now, corporate money appears to be shifting again.

Health care and pharmaceutical firms, for example, have given 51% of their \$14.7 million in donations to Democratic candidates through July of this year, after sending two-thirds of their contributions to



GOP Sen. Richard Burr *Reuters*



GOP Sen. Orrin Hatch *Associated Press*



GOP Rep. Eric Cantor *Getty Images*

Democrats during the same period last year, the data shows.

Wall Street executives opposed new financial-services regulations passed by Congress this year, mainly with support from Democrats, and signed into law by President Barack Obama.

Overall, big banks, securities firms and other financial-services companies gave 55% of \$18.5 million in campaign donations to Republicans in the January-through-July period. That's a reversal from the same period last year, when they gave 65% of PAC donations to Democrats.

Last year, AT&T divided its \$1.1 million in PAC contributions roughly evenly between Republican and Democratic candidates during the period from January through July. In the same period of this year, Republicans have garnered 56% of the \$1.1 million AT&T has given, according to the data. A spokesman for AT&T declined to comment.

Even amid the shift toward the GOP, AT&T has been a major donor to both political parties, ranking first among all corporate PACs in donations to Republicans and second in donations to Democrats so far in the 2009-2010 election cycle.

PACs that are run by labor unions give an overwhelming share of their donations to Democrats. Sixteen of the top 20 PAC donors to Democrats so far this election are operated by labor unions, according to the center, led by the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, which has given \$2.5 million almost entirely to Democrats.

None of the top 20 PAC donors to Republicans have been labor unions in the current election cycle.

The PAC run by Goldman Sachs Group Inc. gave 42% of its campaign donations to GOP candidates from January through July 2009. During the same period this year, the firm's PAC gave Republicans 58% of nearly \$200,000 in contributions.

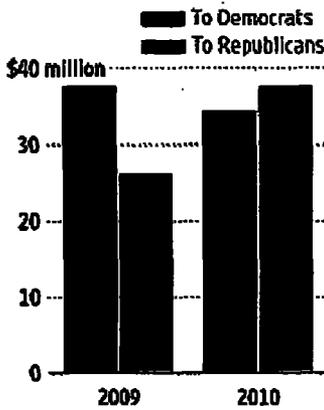
A Goldman spokeswoman declined to comment.

Drug makers began trending toward Democrats in 2008. In all of 2009, pharmaceutical-industry PACs gave Republicans 39% of their \$6.4 million in donations. Through July 2010, Republicans have captured 49% of the industry's \$4 million in PAC contributions, according to the data.

One of the primary beneficiaries has been Virginia Rep. Eric Cantor, the No. 2 House Republican. In March, at a Washington-area retreat for trade group officials, Mr. Cantor told drug executives their embrace of Democrats and health-care legislation had hurt their relationship with Republicans, and that

## Reversal of Fortune

Contributions from corporate political action committees through July of each year



Source: Center for Responsive Politics

he doubted Democratic leaders had the industry's best interests in mind.

A spokesman for Mr. Cantor declined to comment.

In 2008, Mr. Cantor wasn't among the top 20 recipients of drug-maker money. Now he is No. 10 on the list from the Center for Responsive Politics.

The Glaxo PAC gave 63% of its \$167,000 in donations to Democrats from January through July last year, according to the data. Through July of this year, the firm's PAC gave Republicans 53% of its \$212,000 in donations.

Glaxo said its PAC contributions were evenly divided between Republicans and Democrats over the two-year cycle. "Looking at one year only can misrepresent trends," it said.

Write to Brody Mullins at [brody.mullins@wsj.com](mailto:brody.mullins@wsj.com) and Alicia Mundy at

[alicia.mundy@wsj.com](mailto:alicia.mundy@wsj.com)

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# Exhibit 94

11/11/2011 10:11:11 AM

# Pew Research Center for the People & the Press

SEPTEMBER 12, 2013

## Five Years after Market Crash, U.S. Economy Seen as 'No More Secure'

*Household Incomes, Jobs Seen as Lagging in Recovery*

### Overview

Five years after the U.S. economy faced its most serious crisis since the Great Depression, a majority of Americans (63%) say the nation's economic system is no more secure today than it was before the 2008 market crash. Just a third (33%) think the system is more secure now than it was then.

(<http://www.people-press.org/2013/09/12/five-years-after-market-crash-u-s-economy-seen-as-no-more-secure/1-7/>)

Large percentages say household incomes and jobs still have yet to recover from the economic recession. And when asked about the impact of government efforts to deal with the recession, far more believe that economic policies have benefitted large banks, corporations and the rich than the middle-class, the poor or small businesses.

The latest national survey by the Pew Research Center, conducted September 4-8 among 1,506 adults, finds that 54% say household incomes have "hardly recovered at all" from the recession. Nearly as many (52%) say the job situation has barely recovered.

By contrast, majorities say that the stock market and real estate values have at least partially recovered from the recession (74% and 63%, respectively). But relatively few say that even these sectors have fully recovered (21% stock market, 4% real estate values).

Government policies in response to the recession are seen as having done little to address the uneven recovery. Broad majorities say the government's policies following the recession have done not much or nothing at all to help poor people (72%), middle-class people (71%), and small businesses (67%). Yet majorities say government policies have done a great deal or a fair amount to help large banks and financial institutions (69%), large corporations (67%), and wealthy people (59%).

Despite concerns over the security of the economic system and fairness of government economic policies, the public is deeply divided over federal regulation of markets and financial institutions. Overall, 49% say

**Related**

A Rise in Wealth for the Wealthy;  
Declines for the Lower 93%  
(<http://www.pewsocialtrends.org/2013/04/23/a-rise-in-wealth-for-the-wealthydeclines-for-the-lower-93/4/>)

government regulation of markets has not gone far enough leaving the country at risk of another financial crisis, while nearly as many (43%) say government regulation has gone too far making it harder for the economy to grow.

In May 2010 (<http://www.people-press.org/2010/05/18/publics-priorities-financial-regs/>), just before Congress passed financial regulation legislation, the public was similarly divided: 46% said they were worried the financial regulation legislation would go too far, 44% expressed concern that they would not go far enough.

**Just a Third See Economic System as More Secure than in 2008**

(<http://www.people-press.org/2013/09/12/five-years-after-market-crash-u-s-economy-seen-as-no-more-secure/new/>) The belief that the U.S. economic system is no more secure today than it was before the financial crisis is widely shared across demographic groups. There are partisan differences, however, with Democrats more likely than Republicans or independents to say that the system is more secure.

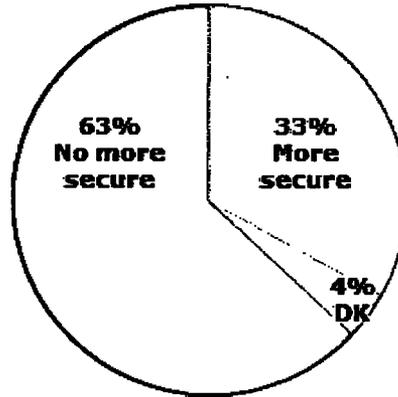
Large majorities of Republicans (80%) and independents (68%) say the economic system is not more secure than prior to the financial crisis. Democrats are divided: 51% say the system is more secure today while 45% say it is not.

There also is substantial disagreement between Republicans and Democrats over whether the government has gone too far or not far enough in regulating markets and financial institutions.

(<http://www.people-press.org/2013/09/12/five-years-after-market-crash-u-s-economy-seen-as-no-more-secure/3-7/>) By two-to-one, more Republicans say government regulations have gone too far making it harder for the economy to grow (64%), than say they have not gone far enough leaving the country at risk of another financial crisis

**Five Years After Crash, Doubts about U.S. Economic System**

Compared w/ before crisis, U.S. economic system is



**And Perceptions of an Uneven Recovery from the Recession**

How much has each recovered from recession ...	Fully %	Partially %	Hardly at all %	DK %
Household incomes	2	42	54	2=100
Job situation	2	45	52	1=100
Real estate values	4	59	33	4=100
Stock market	21	53	18	9=100

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Sept. 4-8, 2013. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

(32%). Opinion among Democrats is the reverse: just 26% say the government regulations of financial institutions and markets have gone too far, while 62% say they have not gone far enough. Independents are divided: 51% say regulations have not gone far enough, 41% say they have gone too far.

Among Republicans and Republican leaners who agree with the Tea Party, far more say government financial regulations have gone too far (79%) rather than not far enough (19%). Republicans who do not agree with the Tea Party are much more evenly divided: 52% say regulations have gone too far, 43% say not far enough.

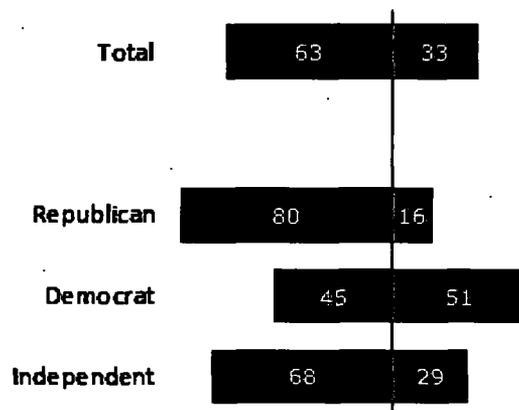
### Gov't Policies Seen as Helping Banks, Corporations, the Wealthy

The public sees clear winners and losers as a result of the government's economic policies following the recession that began in 2008.

## Partisan Divide over Whether Economic System Is More Secure

Compared with before 2008 economic crisis, U.S. economic system today is ...

■ No more secure ■ More secure



PEW RESEARCH CENTER Sept. 4-8, 2013. Q39.

## Dems See Too Little Financial Regulation, Reps See Too Much

In regulating financial institutions and markets, govt has gone ...

	Too far %	Not far enough %	DK %
Total	43	49	8=100
Republican	64	32	4=100
Democrat	26	62	11=100
Independent	41	51	8=100
<b>Among Rep/Rep-leaners</b>			
Tea Party	79	19	2=100
Non-Tea Party	52	43	6=100

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Sept. 4-8, 2013. Q41. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

## Government Policies Seen as Doing Little for Middle Class, Poor, and Small Businesses

<i>Following recession, government's policies have helped...</i>	<b>A great deal</b>	<b>A fair amount</b>	<b>Not much/Not at all</b>	<b>Don't know</b>
	%	%	%	%
Poor people	8	18	72	3=100
Middle class people	6	21	71	2=100
Small businesses	6	23	67	4=100
Wealthy people	38	21	33	8=100
Large corporations	41	26	27	7=100
Large banks & financial institutions	40	28	25	7=100

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Sept. 4-8, 2013. Q45.  
Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

(<http://www.people-press.org/2013/09/12/five-years-after-market-crash-u-s-economy-seen-as-no-more-secure/4-6/>)

The beneficiaries of these policies, in the public's view, are large banks and financial institutions, large corporations and wealthy people: Sizable majorities say government policies have helped all three at least a fair amount – 69% say that about large banks and financial institutions, 67% large corporations and 59% wealthy people.

Meanwhile, fewer than a third say policies implemented by the government following the recession have helped the poor, middle class and small businesses. Roughly seven-in-ten say government policies have done little or nothing to help the poor (72%), the middle class (71%) and small businesses (67%).

There has been little change in these perceptions since the question was last asked in July 2010.

(<http://www.people-press.org/2013/09/12/five-years-after-market-crash-u-s-economy-seen-as-no-more-secure/5-6/>)

There are only modest differences on this question across income groups, with general agreement over which groups have been helped – and not helped – by the government's economic policies. For example, 79% of those in households earning less than \$30,000 a year say government economic policies have done not much or nothing at all to help poor people; among those with family incomes of \$75,000 or more, a similar 70%-majority shares this view.

And while there are wide partisan gaps in opinions about government financial regulation and whether the economic system is more secure, there is some common ground in opinions about which groups have been helped by government economic policies since 2008.

### Impact of Gov't Policies Viewed Similarly across Income Groups

<i>Gov't policies have helped each not too much/not at all</i>	<i>Family income</i>		
	<b>&lt;\$30k</b>	<b>\$30-75k</b>	<b>\$75k+</b>
	%	%	%
Poor people	79	67	70
Middle class	64	71	77
Small businesses	58	69	70
Wealthy people	30	31	38
Large corporations	27	24	29
Banks & financials	28	21	21

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Sept. 4-8, 2013. Q45.

For instance, nearly identical majorities of Republicans (73%), Democrats (71%) and independents (70%) say that government policies following the recession have done little or nothing for poor people. And while 70% of Democrats and 73% of independents say large banks and financial institutions have been helped at least a fair amount by government policies, 62% of Republicans agree. However, Democrats are more likely than Republicans to say that the wealthy, large corporations and small businesses have benefitted from government policies undertaken since the recession began.

## Many See an Uneven Economic Recovery

### Most Say Household Incomes Have Hardly Recovered from Recession

<i>How much have each of the following recovered from recession?</i>	<b>Fully recovered</b>	<b>Partially recovered</b>	<b>Hardly recovered</b>	<b>DK</b>
	%	%	%	%
Household incomes	2	42	54	2=100
Job situation	2	45	52	1=100
Real estate values	4	59	33	4=100
Stock market	21	53	18	9=100

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Sept. 4-8, 2013. Q44.  
 Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

(<http://www.people-press.org/2013/09/12/five-years-after-market-crash-u-s-economy-seen-as-no-more-secure/6-6/>)

More than four years after the end of the recession, roughly half say that household incomes and the job situation have hardly recovered at all. Casting these views in an even more negative light is the perception that other economic sectors – the stock market and real estate values – have seen more of a recovery.

Overall, 54% say household incomes have hardly recovered at all from the recession, 42% say they have partially recovered and just 2% say they have fully recovered. Attitudes toward the job situation are very similar (52% hardly recovered, 45% partially recovered, 2% fully recovered).

Of the four economic sectors tested, the stock market is seen as having rebounded most from the recession. Nearly three-quarters (74%) say the stock market has either fully (21%) or partially (53%) recovered from the recession, while just 18% say it has hardly recovered at all. Views of the recovery in the real estate market also are positive: 63% say real estate values have at least partially recovered, though far more say they have partially recovered (59%) than fully recovered (4%); only 33% say real estate values have hardly recovered at all from the recession.

(<http://www.people-press.org/2013/09/12/five-years-after-market-crash-u-s-economy-seen-as-no-more-secure/7-5/>)

College graduates are more likely than those with less education to see recovery across all four economic sectors tested in the survey. For example, nearly six-in-ten college graduates (58%) say the job situation has at least partially recovered, compared with just 42% of those with some college experience and 44% of those with no college experience.

## Recession's Impact on Personal Finances

The recession's impact can still be clearly seen in how people describe their personal financial situation.

Overall, 33% say the recession had a major impact on them and their finances have not yet recovered, 28% say it had a major impact on them but their finances have mostly recovered, while 37% say the recession did not have a major impact on their own personal financial situation.

The percentage saying the recession had a major impact on their financial situation and they have yet to recover has remained stubbornly flat over the course of the last several years. In February of 2011, 36% said this, almost identical to the 33% who say this today.

Low-income respondents are the most likely to say that the recession hurt their personal finances and that they have yet to recover. Overall, 44% of those with family incomes of less than \$30,000 a year say their finances have not recovered from the recession, double the percentage among those with incomes of \$75,000 or more.

## Views of the National Economy

Five years after the financial crisis, views of the national economy still remain negative. Only 19% rate the economy as excellent or good. By contrast, about a third (32%) rate the economy as poor and roughly half (48%) say economic conditions are only fair.

While perceptions of the economy are negative, they are much less so than during the depths of the economic recession. In February 2009, 71% rated economic conditions as poor and only 4% rated the economy as excellent or good. The share rating economic conditions as poor had more than doubled between January 2008 and February 2009 (from 28% to 71%).

## College Graduates More Likely to See Recovery across Sectors

% saying each has partially or fully recovered	College grad+	Some college	HS or less
	%	%	%
Stock market	83	76	66
Real estate values	74	64	56
Job situation	58	42	44
Household incomes	51	40	43

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Sept. 4-8, 2013. Q44.

## A Third Say Their Own Finances Haven't Recovered from Recession

	Feb 2011	Sept 2013	Change
	%	%	
Major impact, not yet recovered	36	33	-3
Major impact, mostly recovered	25	28	+3
Did not have major impact	37	37	0
Don't know	1	2	
	100	100	

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Sept. 4-8, 2013. Q38. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

## Lower-Income People Less Likely to Say Finances Have Recovered

Recession's impact on personal financial situation	Family income		
	<30k	30k-75k	75k+
	%	%	%
Major effect, not recovered	44	34	22
Major effect, mostly recovered	19	31	34
Did not have major impact	34	34	43
Don't know	2	1	1
	100	100	100

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Sept. 4-8, 2013. Q38. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

Perceptions of the economy have become less negative just over the course of this year. In January 2013, 49% said the economy was poor, 17 points higher than today.

Currently, roughly equal percentages expect the economy to get better (28%) as worse (25%) in the coming year. For most of Obama's presidency, economic optimism has outweighed pessimism. This is only the second time since Obama became president when economic optimism did not significantly exceed economic pessimism.

(<http://www.people-press.org/2013/09/12/five-years-after-market-crash-u-s-economy-seen-as-no-more-secure/11-4/>)

In February 2009, when national economic ratings hit an all-time low, there was unusual partisan agreement in evaluations of the economy. Comparable percentages of Democrats (73%), independents (72%) and Republicans (67%) said the nation's economy was in poor shape.

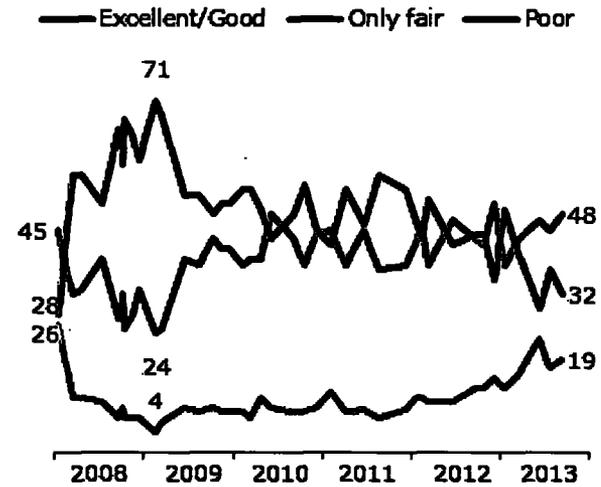
Since then, the percentage rating the economy as poor has fallen across the board, but much more steeply among Democrats and independents than Republicans. Today, just 19% of Democrats view economic conditions as poor, compared with 33% of independents and 44% of Republicans.

The public's economic expectations have shown less change over the past four years. Currently, 25% say they expect economic conditions to worsen in the coming year; 18% said this in February 2009. In the current survey, more Republicans (39%) than independents (25%) or Democrats (11%) expect the economy to get worse. In February 2009, 27% of Republicans, 20% of independents and 9% of Democrats said the economy would be worse in a year.

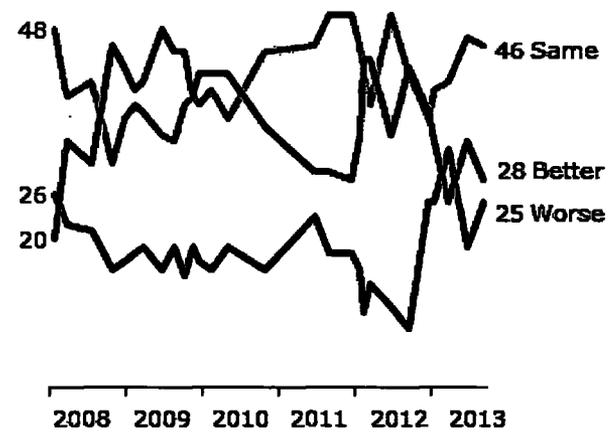
### Top Economic Worry: Jobs

## Current and Future Economic Ratings

Current economic conditions are ...



A year from now, economic conditions will be ...



PEW RESEARCH CENTER Sept. 4-8, 2013. Q35 & Q36.

### More Partisan Views of the Current Economy than in 2009

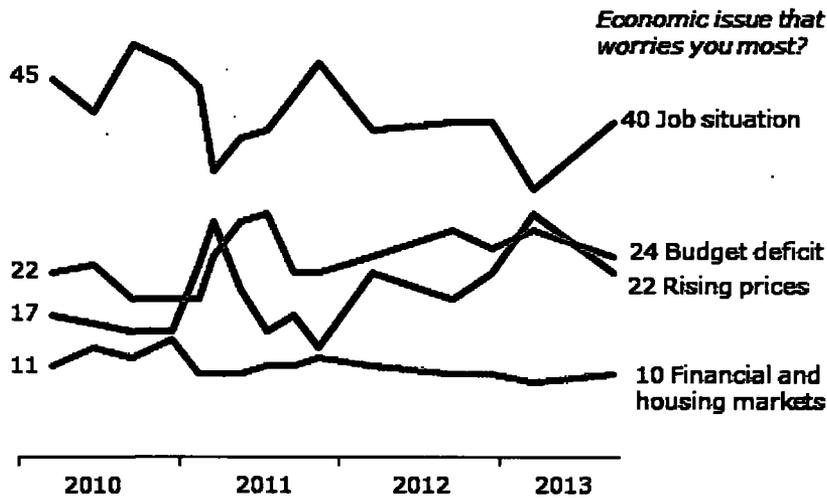
<i>% rating current economic conditions as <u>poor</u></i>	<b>Feb 2009</b>	<b>Sept 2013</b>	<b>Change</b>
Total	71	32	-39
Republican	67	44	-23
Democrat	73	19	-54
Independent	72	33	-39

<i>% saying economy a year from now will be <u>worse</u></i>	<b>Feb 2009</b>	<b>Sept 2013</b>	<b>Change</b>
Total	18	25	+7
Republican	27	39	+12
Democrat	9	11	+2
Independent	20	25	+5

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Sept. 4-8, 2013. Q35 & Q36.

### Job Situation Remains Public's Top Economic Concern



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(<http://www.people-press.org/2013/09/12/five-years-after-market-crash-u-s-economy-seen-as-no-more-secure/12-4/>) Overall, 40% say that the job situation is the national economic issue that worries them most, while somewhat fewer cite the budget deficit (24%) or rising prices (22%); just 10% say the condition of the financial and housing markets is their top economic worry.

The percentage citing the job situation as their top economic worry has increased eight points since March,

## Jobs Are Top Worry among all Income, Partisan Groups

	Job situation	Budget deficit	Rising prices	Financial/housing markets	DK
	%	%	%	%	%
Total	40	24	22	10	4=100
<i>Family income ...</i>					
\$75,000 or more	40	30	15	12	4=100
\$30,000-\$75,000	37	26	23	9	5=100
Less than \$30,000	42	16	28	11	3=100
<i>Partisan</i>					
Republican	37	29	23	8	3=100
Democrat	48	15	21	11	5=100
Independent	38	26	22	10	5=100

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 Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

(<http://www.people-press.org/2013/09/12/five-years-after-market-crash-u-s-economy-seen-as-no-more-secure/13-3/>) when concern over rising prices rivaled the job situation as the public's top economic worry. For most of the past three years, the job situation has been the public's top economic worry.

Pluralities across income levels and partisan groups cite the job situation as their top economic worry. However, while jobs are the top concern for Republicans and Democrats alike, a greater share of Democrats (48%) than Republicans (37%) say this. Republicans (29%) are more likely than Democrats (15%) to cite the budget deficit as their top economic concern.

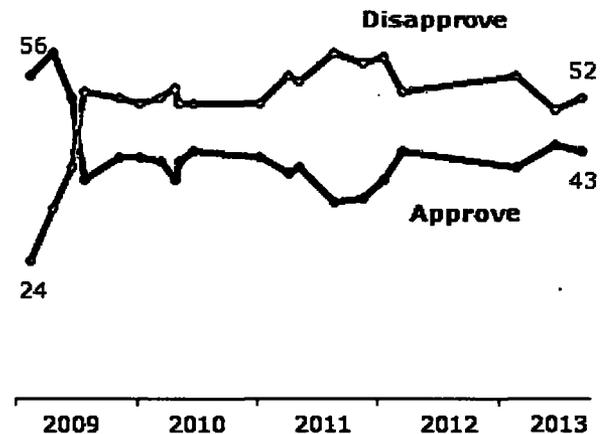
## Obama's Rating on Economy Little Changed

Currently, 43% appr (<http://www.people-press.org/2013/09/12/five-years-after-market-crash-u-s-economy-seen-as-no-more-secure/14-3/>) ove of the way that Barack Obama is handling the economy, while 52% disapprove. Obama's job rating on the economy has shown little change this year. Views of Obama's handling of the economy have been consistently more negative than positive since shortly after he took office in early 2009.

Republicans disapprove of Obama's handling of the economy by an 85%-12% margin, while Democrats approve 75%-19%. Most independents (56%) disapprove of the job Obama is doing on the economy, while 38% approve.

## Continued Disapproval of Obama's Handling of the Economy

Obama's handling of the economy ...



PEW RESEARCH CENTER/USA TODAY Sept. 4-8, 2013.

**Obama's current rating on the econom**

(<http://www.people-press.org/2013/09/12/five-years-after-market-crash-u-s-economy-seen-as-no-more-secure/15-3/>) y is similar to his overall job rating (44% approve, 49% disapprove) and much higher than is ratings for handling the nation's foreign policy and the situation in Syria.

Just 33% approve of the way Obama is handling the nation's foreign policy – the lowest mark of his presidency. And just 29% approve of his handling of the situation in Syria while nearly twice as many disapprove. (For more, see "Opposition to Syrian Airstrikes Surges" (<http://www.people-press.org/2013/09/09/opposition-to-syrian-airstrikes-surges/>), " Sept, 9, 2013.)

**Republicans Hold Slim Advantage on Deficit, Dealing with Banks**

(<http://www.people-press.org/2013/09/12/five-years-after-market-crash-u-s-economy-seen-as-no-more-secure/16-3/>) The Republican Party holds a slim advantage over Democrats as the party seen as best able to deal with the federal budget deficit and with banks and financial institutions.

By a 43%-35% margin, somewhat more say the Republican Party than the Democratic Party can do the better job dealing with the budget deficit. In January the public was divided over which party could do the better job (40% Republican Party, 39% Democratic Party), though Republicans have often enjoyed a slight advantage on the issue in recent years.

By a similar margin (41%-35%) the GOP also has the advantage as the party best able to deal with banks and financial institutions. When the question was last asked in April 2010, during congressional debate on regulating banks and financial institutions, opinion was divided (36% for each party).

**Obama's Job Rating on Economy Better than Foreign Policy, Syria**

	Approve	Disapprove	DK
<i>Obama job rating ...</i>			
Overall	44	49	8=100
Economy	43	52	5=100
Foreign policy	33	57	11=100
Situation in Syria	29	56	15=100

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**GOP Has Edge in Dealing with Banks, Financial Institutions**

<i>Which party could do the better job ...</i>	Rep Party %	Dem Party %	Both/ Neither/ DK %
<b>Dealing w/ budget deficit</b>			
September 2013	43	35	22=100
January 2013	40	39	21=100
October 2011	46	37	17=100
September 2010	43	36	21=100
August 2009	35	36	30=100

**Dealing w/ banks & financial institutions**

September 2013	41	35	24=100
April 2010	36	36	28=100

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(<http://www.people-press.org/2013/09/12/five-years-after-market-crash-u-s-economy-seen-as-no-more-secure/17-2/>)

Independents lean toward the GOP as the party best able to deal with both the budget deficit (42%-27%) and banks and financial institutions (38%-30%). In addition, a greater percentage of Republicans than Democrats favor their own party to deal with the budget deficit (79% of Republicans vs. 67% of Democrats) and banks (78% of Republicans vs. 66% of Democrats).

## Independents Tilt Toward GOP on Deficit, Dealing with Banks

<i>Party that could better deal with...</i>	Total %	Rep %	Dem %	Ind %
<b>Budget deficit</b>				
Republican Party	43	79	16	42
Democratic Party	35	10	67	27
<b>Banks and financial institutions</b>				
Republican Party	41	78	17	38
Democratic Party	35	8	66	30

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# Exhibit 95

GEORGE FARAH **no**  
**debate**

How the Republican and  
Democratic Parties  
Secretly Control  
the Presidential Debates

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Farah, George.  
No debate: how the Republican and  
Democratic parties secretly control the  
presidential debates / George Farah. —  
A Seven Stories Press 1st ed.  
p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references  
and index.

ISBN 1-58322-630-3 (pbk. : alk. paper)  
ISBN 1-58322-665-6 (hc. : alk. paper)

1. Presidents—United States—Election.
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nothing in it for corporations when they made a contribution to the League. Not a quid pro quo. That's not the case with the commission.<sup>43</sup>

Many corporations relish the opportunity to shower Republican and Democratic candidates with financial support, and there are several distinct advantages, from the corporate viewpoint, to giving money to the CPD. Unlike Political Action Committee and "soft money" contributions, donations to the CPD are tax-deductible (which means taxpayers are subsidizing the exclusion of popular candidates, challenging formats, and important issues from the presidential debates). Unlike contributions to political parties and conventions, which must be disclosed to the public, donations to the CPD can be kept private. Unlike contributions to a candidate or her party, a single donation to the CPD hits two birds with one stone. Stephen K. Lambright, vice president of Anheuser-Busch, said spending money to sponsor the debates "is a good way to do it because we don't have to choose sides."<sup>44</sup>

Political contributions, however, are not simply about influencing potential lawmakers. They're also about keeping certain elected officials in power, and by supporting an exclusionary debate commission, the corporate community helps sustain a business-friendly two-party system and limit robust debate over corporate accountability issues. (See cartoon A.) Corporate sponsors know that promoting the CPD promotes the major parties and that the major parties are often more likely to protect their profit margins. Nathan Johnson, reporter for the *Press and Democrat*, wrote:

The corporations who sponsor the debates—Com Inc., Yahoo, Inc., Sun Microsystems Inc., AT&T Company and Anheuser-Busch Companies, Inc.—funnel millions of dollars into the two major parties every year. After making such major investments, they aren't very eager to allow a third party candidate the opportunity to ascend to the presidency and thereby render their investment less valuable.<sup>45</sup>

Talk show host Phil Donahue said, "Can you imagine how enthusiastic AT&T is to have Ralph Nader on that stage?"<sup>46</sup>

Corporate contributions to the CPD are one-of-a-kind; no other corporate donations simultaneously strengthen both major-party candidates, directly prevent ideas from entering the collective voter consciousness, improve the public image of the donor corporations, and result in tax subsidies for donor corporations. When Fahrenkopf was asked if there was anything wrong with beer and tobacco companies sponsoring the presidential debates, he said, "Boy, you are talking to really the wrong guy. I'm a guy who represents the gambling industry."<sup>47</sup>

### Memoranda of Understanding

The CPD is dominated by loyal Republicans and Democrats who are deeply entrenched in their parties and the corporate structure that supports them. Yet the CPD denies ever yielding to major-party candidate demands and vigorously proclaims independence from candidate control.

According to the CPD, it establishes objective criteria to determine candidate participation and conducts comprehensive studies to select the most educational format. Fahrenkopf explained how it works:

I'm just flat-ass telling you: We will not do a debate—we will not use the CPD to do a debate if the candidates come to us and they sit down and they negotiate and they say all right, we've agreed, we're going to do three debates. We've agreed that so-and-so is going to be the moderator, we're going to do this thing. We'll say hey, we announced, we'll tell them, we announced a year ago what the criteria was going to be; we announced a year ago what our standards were going to be, what the format was going to be and how we're going to do it. Your proposal does not meet our criteria. We will walk.<sup>48</sup>

But they don't walk. On the contrary, the CPD readily endorses all the joint decisions of the Republican and Democratic candidates. Every four years, the CPD publicly proposes debate formats and a debate schedule and publishes candidate selection criteria. Questions concerning third-party participation and debate formats, however,

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# Exhibit 96

**POLITICO****Dylan Byers Blog****Enter your email address****SIGN UP****Facebook****Twitter****RSS Feed****Philips pulls presidential debate sponsorship**By DYLAN BYERS |  
9/30/12 6:13 PM EDT

Philips Electronics has dropped its sponsorship of the 2012 presidential debates, citing a desire not to associate itself with "partisan politics," POLITICO has learned.

Philips is the third and by far the largest of the original ten sponsors to pull its support, following similar decisions by British advertising firm BBH New York and the YWCA over the last week. Their decision to do so is seen as the result of intense lobbying efforts by advocacy organizations — primarily Libertarian supporters of former Gov. Gary Johnson — who oppose the exclusion of third-party candidates and who therefore believe the Commission on Presidential Debates is an anti-Democratic institution.

Mark A. Stephenson, the head of corporate communications at Philips North America, told POLITICO that the company doesn't want to provide "even the slightest appearance of supporting partisan politics."

Philips "has a long and proud heritage of being non-partisan in the many countries it serves around the world. While the Commission on Presidential Debates is a non-partisan organization, their work may appear to support bi-partisan politics," Stephenson said in a written statement. "We respect all points of view and, as a result, want to ensure that Philips doesn't provide even the slightest appearance of supporting partisan politics. As such, no company funds have been or will be used to support the Commission on Presidential Debates."

George Farah, the executive director of Open Debates, one of the groups leading the charge for debate reform, celebrated the news.

"This is a triumph for the debate reform movement," Farah told POLITICO. "These former sponsors no longer want to be affiliated with an anti-democratic commission that defies the wishes of the American people."

The Philips decision will be seen as a victory for those organizations — including Open Debates, Help The Commission, and various Libertarian groups — that want to end the hold the Commission on Presidential Debates has over the debate process.

Last week, Open Debates and seventeen other organizations called (<http://www.prnewswire.com/news-releases/eighteen-pro-democracy-groups-call-on-presidential-debate-commission-to-make-secret-contract-public-171529781.html>) on the Commission to release the contract negotiated between the Barack Obama and Mitt Romney campaigns for the debates, citing the possible existence of "anti-democratic provisions that sanitize debate formats, exclude viable third-party candidates and prohibit additional debates from being held." (Though, as my colleague Maggie Haberman reported (<http://www.politico.com/blogs/burns-haberman/2012/09/the-quiet-predebates-debate-137038.html>) today, this "memorandum of understanding" is still being negotiated just three days out from the first debate.)

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But the Philips decision, like that of BBH New York and YWCA, also comes at great cost to the Commission, which is a 501(c) (3) and relies on corporate funding. (Debate sponsors get tickets to the debates but do not have any input on the questions, format, venue, etc., nor do they receive face-time with the candidates.)

"The work we've done for 25 years is in very large part due to our extremely generous sponsors, who believe the debates are an invaluable, civic education forum," Janet Brown, the executive director of the Commission told POLITICO. "The sponsors get virtually nothing in return, and we are deeply sorry to see them attacked by people who have issues with the CPD."

The seven sponsors still supporting this year's presidential debates are Anheuser-Busch Companies; The Howard G. Buffet Foundation; Sheldon S. Cohen, Esq.; Crowell & Moring LLP; International Bottled Water Association (IBWA); The Kovler Fund; and Southwest Airlines.

*This post has been updated.*

**Read more about: Presidential Debates 2012 (<http://dyn.politico.com/tag/presidential-debates-2012>)**

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## Presidential Debates Lose Sponsors Over Exclusion of Third-Party Candidates

J.D. Tuccille | Oct. 1, 2012 9:22 am



The Commission on Presidential Debates, a bipartisan project of the Republican and Democratic parties, was established, at least in part, to make sure that major party presidential candidates would be unlikely to suffer the indignity of sharing a stage with an outsider. The effort hasn't been completely successful — Ross Perot actually managed to meet the CPD's nearly prohibitive criteria for inclusion in 1992 — but the two parties now have a lot more control over the ritualistic meetings between their chosen contenders than they did back in the wild and woolly days when they might be thrown curve balls by such unpredictable loose-cannon debate hosts of the past as the League of Women Voters. That stage-managed, private-club quality taken on the by the CPD's debates may not be working out in their favor this year, with three debate sponsors pulling out explicitly to avoid being seen as endorsing Republicans and Democrats at the expense of candidates from other political parties.

In response to my query, Mark A. Stephenson, Head of Corporate Communications for Philips North America, sent me this statement:

The Commission on Presidential Debates is a nonprofit, 501(c) (3) corporation dedicated to providing a platform to the U.S. public – in the form of presidential and vice-presidential debates – which serves to inform voters on a variety of issues. Philips, a company with roots in the U.S spanning more than eight decades, supports the goals and ideals of having a more engaged and informed electorate. Philips also has a long and proud heritage of being non-partisan in the many countries it serves around the world. While the Commission on Presidential Debates is a non-partisan organization, their work may appear to support bi-partisan politics. We respect all points of view and, as a result, want to ensure that Philips doesn't provide even the slightest appearance of supporting partisan politics. As such, no company funds have been or will be used to support the Commission on Presidential Debates.

This is remarkably similar to a statement released by the YWCA, signed by the organization's CEO, Dara Richardson-Heron:

On behalf of the YWCA USA, I would like to thank you for your recent letter expressing concerns about the Commission on Presidential Debates and the YWCA's sponsorship of the 2012 debates next month.

As a nonpartisan organization dedicated to eliminating racism, empowering women and promoting peace, justice, freedom and dignity for all, we have decided to withdraw our sponsorship effective immediately.

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Again, we thank you for alerting us of your concerns and appreciate your support of the YWCA and our mission.



BBH New York, an arm of the international Bartle Bogle and Hegarty advertising agency has also dropped its support for the CPD's media events, although that company is struggling and may no longer be in a position to throw money at politicians. All three organizations have disappeared from the CPD's official list of sponsors. That list, by the way, is now down to seven, which is the shortest the organization has listed over the years of its existence for the debates it has organized.

Third-party supporters — Gary Johnson-backers, in particular — as well as advocates of open debates have leaned on the CPD especially hard this year. Part of their effort has been to put pressure on sponsors. That tactic is obviously working.

I wouldn't expect the CPD to cave anytime soon and admit candidates like Gary Johnson, of the Libertarian Party, and Jill Stein, of the Green Party, just because they're on the ballot in enough states to, conceivably, win and running for the same office as the two anointed politicians who have been approved for participation. But I suspect that advocates of open political dialogue are getting much more exposure this year than the Republican and Democratic establishment would like, and that their creature, the CPD, is leaking credibility, not to mention financial viability, with the departure of check-writing sponsors.

J.D. Tuccille is managing editor of Reason.com.

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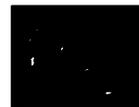


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**Appeals Court Takes on Legalities of NSA Snooping**

**MINIMUM WAGE**

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Matt Welch

**If You Want to Help Poor Workers, Give Them Money, but Don't Make It More Expensive to Employ Them.**  
Nick Gillespie

**Politicians' Minimum Wage Challenge Only Proves Politicians Don't Know Jack About Budgeting**  
Zenon Evans

**REASON-RUPE POLL**

**Won't Somebody Please Think of the Children?!**  
Tyler Koteskey

**40 Percent of Americans Say an Ebola Outbreak is Likely In US City**  
Emily Ekins

**65% of Americans Say Millennials Are "Entitled," 58% of Millennials Agree**  
Emily Ekins

**STAFF REVIEWS**

***Wetlands and The Longest Week***  
Kurt Loder

***The November Man and Life of Crime***  
Kurt Loder

***Generational Generalizations Gone Wrong***  
Jesse Walker

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# CRS Report for Congress

Received through the CRS Web

## Presidential Elections in the United States: A Primer

April 17, 2000

Kevin J. Coleman  
Analyst in American National Government

Joseph E. Cantor  
Specialist in American National Government

Thomas H. Neale  
Analyst in American National Government

Government & Finance Division

**Role of Televised Presidential Debates.** Televised debates now constitute one of the most important elements in presidential electoral politics. They draw what is easily the largest audience of any public activity associated with the election. The final presidential debate of the hotly contested, three-way election of 1992 was watched by an estimated 97 million TV viewers, for example.<sup>14</sup>

Candidates devote substantial time and effort in preparing for debates, as it is widely believed that their performance may significantly affect their chances of electoral success. Extensive briefings and rehearsals are conducted, to anticipate questions and issues which may be raised. Careful attention is paid to the nominee's physical appearance, in order to project an appealing, if not "presidential," image.

### **Survey Research in the Presidential Election Campaign**

The use of survey research is an integral aspect of contemporary electioneering. The public watches the fluctuations in candidate match-ups by polling organizations during the campaign, but more important to the campaigns than the "horse race" data are the tracking polls conducted on a continuing basis. These surveys, done by organizations on contract for the campaigns, are designed to identify issues of concern to potential voters, as well as to measure support for the nominee and his running mate among key demographic groups and in different geographical areas.

The tracking polls, along with even more in-depth devices like focus groups (wherein carefully selected groups of representative voters are interviewed for their reactions to the candidates and their messages), provide a source of vital information for campaigns. If support is low among particular social, economic, or ethnic groups, or in certain states, such resources as candidate appearances and political advertising are redirected and targeted to strengthen the campaign where needed. In this way, the candidates seek to change or minimize negative personal images or to emphasize their strengths and achievements, based on trends monitored often on a daily basis.

### **Election Day**

On election day, voters in the 50 states and the District of Columbia cast their ballots for electors pledged to their favored presidential and vice presidential nominees. The law establishes the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November for the choice of all federal elective officers. In the interest of convenience and economy, most states and many localities also hold elections on federal election day.

Elections for President and Vice President are held every fourth year, in years that are divisible by the number four (*i.e.* 1988, 1992 and 1996). Congressional elections are held on this day every even-numbered year, with those in between presidential contests termed mid-term or off-year elections.

---

<sup>14</sup> Commission on Presidential Debates web site, visited Feb. 17, 2000 [<http://www.debates.org/pages/debhis92.html>].

UTN-UTNWD4067

# Exhibit 99

# GRAND ILLUSION

THE MYTH OF VOTER CHOICE  
IN A TWO-PARTY TYRANNY

Theresa Amato



THE NEW PRESS

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Published in the United States by The New Press, New York, 2009  
Distributed by Perseus Distribution

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS CATALOGING-IN-PUBLICATION DATA

Amato, Theresa A.

Grand illusion : the myth of voter choice in a two-party tyranny / Theresa Amato.  
p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-1-59558-394-9 (hc. : alk. paper) 1. Political parties—United States.

2. Two party systems—United States. 3. Voting—United States. I. Title.

II. Title: Myth of voter choice in a two-party tyranny.

JK2265.A67 2009

324.273—dc22

2009000593

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## Chapter 8

### “The Debate Commission Sucks”

“The Debate Commission sucks.” This was Karl Rove talking at a dinner at Harvard’s Institute of Politics in late February 2001.<sup>1</sup> Rove was complaining that the Commission on Presidential Debates (CPD) had set late dates for the 2000 debates, crammed them together, and used a very rigid format. He asked whether it was right to set the debates around the schedule for “the Olympics, Monday Night Football, and baseball and the sweeps.”<sup>2</sup> These were valid issues. Ironically, the one question Rove believed that the CPD handled well was the “question of who gets to participate.” He then added, “I know Theresa Amato is here and she doesn’t agree.”<sup>3</sup>

That was an understatement. The debates have a monumental role in presidential campaigns. Think Nixon/Kennedy in 1960. Think Ross Perot in 1992. Who gets to participate—and who doesn’t—is a defining feature of candidate viability. Just ask Jesse Ventura, who, in fewer than ten weeks, went from being a wrestler with single-digit popular support to governor of Minnesota in large part because he was permitted to participate in the debates.

As a candidate, if you are not in the debates, you cannot really be running to win the votes of the American people. Historically, the American public tunes in to the presidential campaign right after Labor Day. That seems to be when Americans are ready to begin making up their minds about for whom they will cast their ballots. The free publicity, the

opportunity to reach tens of millions of voters, and all the attendant press and spin that surround presidential debates are irreplaceable in terms of the strategic viability of national presidential campaigns.

When it was my turn to speak at the Harvard conference, I pointed out that the CPD is a private corporation, funded by corporate contributors, "around as long as the political players suffer it."<sup>6</sup> I said that there could be thresholds set for the debates in terms of who gets to participate, but if the CPD sets "three debates and all three of them exclude any voices except the Republican or Democratic candidates, then you've deprived the American people of the chance to hear alternative viewpoints."<sup>5</sup>

Under the law, an organization hosting the presidential debates is supposed to be a neutral arbiter or educator, so that the American people can hear about their choices in the presidential election without bias.<sup>6</sup> The CPD is neither. Rather, it is a private entity, controlled by the two major parties, funded by corporate interests, and it acts as the gatekeeper to the candidates for the millions of Americans who view each presidential campaign. The public is exposed (or not) to the important issues of the election based on which candidates the CPD deigns to invite to participate in the debates.

Many people think the CPD is a governmental entity, but it is not. Others think the League of Women Voters hosts the debates, because it once did. But it does not. The two major parties created the CPD, under the guise of being a nonprofit, so that they could control the presidential debate process. The former chairmen of the Democratic and Republican parties, Paul G. Kirk and Frank Fahrenkopf, lobbyists for pharmaceutical and gaming interests, respectively, have run the debates since 1987, when they engaged in a hostile takeover of the League of Women Voters' sponsorship, which had been ongoing since 1976. The League hosted the debates after the FEC allowed for televised presidential debates to be exempt from the 1934 Communications Act "equal-time requirement," as long as they were not sponsored by broadcast media. When the League ran the debates, John Anderson, a Republican running as an independent in the 1980 election, was allowed to participate, even though that meant that Jimmy Carter, the Democratic nominee, refused to show up for the first debate.

George Farah, in his book *No Debate*, documents the partisan origins and affiliation of virtually everyone involved in the CPD as either a Democrat or a Republican.<sup>7</sup> Indeed, many CPD members have made



Form **1023**

(Rev. July 1981)

Department of the Treasury  
Internal Revenue Service

# Application for Recognition of Exemption

## Under Section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code

For Paperwork Reduction Act Notice, see page 1 of the instructions.

OMB No. 1545-0056

Expires May 31, 1984

To be filed in the key district for the area in which the organization has its principal office or place of business.

This application, when properly completed, constitutes the notice required under section 508(a) of the Internal Revenue Code so that an applicant may be treated as described in section 501(c)(3) of the Code, and the notice required under section 508(b) for an organization claiming not to be a private foundation within the meaning of section 509(a). (Read the instructions for each part carefully before making any entries.) The organization must have an organizing instrument (see Part II) before this application may be filed.

### Part I—Identification

1 Full name of organization <b>The Commission on Presidential Debates</b>		2 Employer identification number (If none, attach Form SS-4) <b>Application pending</b>	
3(a) Address (number and street) <b>1825 K Street, N. W., Suite 711</b>		Check here if applying under section: <input type="checkbox"/> 501(e) <input type="checkbox"/> 501(f)	
3(b) City or town, State, and ZIP code <b>Washington, D. C. 20006</b>		4 Name and phone number of person to be contacted <b>George J. Rabil (202) 822-8499</b>	
5 Month the annual accounting period ends <b>December</b>	6 Date incorporated or formed <b>February 19, 1987</b>	7 Activity codes <b>123 125 064</b>	
8(a) Has the organization filed Federal income tax returns? . . . . . <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No If "Yes," state the form number(s), year(s) filed, and Internal Revenue office where filed ▶ <b>N/A</b>			
8(b) Has the organization filed exempt organization information returns? . . . . . <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No If "Yes," state the form number(s), year(s) filed, and Internal Revenue office where filed ▶ <b>N/A</b>			

### Part II.—Type of Entity and Organizational Documents (see instructions)

Check the applicable entity box below and attach a conformed copy of the organization's organizing and operational documents as indicated for each entity. Exhibit A Exhibit B  
 Corporation—Articles of Incorporation/ bylaws. /  Trust—Trust indenture.  Other—Constitution or articles, bylaws.

### Part III.—Activities and Operational Information

1 What are or will be the organization's sources of financial support? List in order of magnitude. If a part of the receipts is or will be derived from the earnings of patents, copyrights, or other assets (excluding stock, bonds, etc.), identify the item as a separate source of receipts. Attach representative copies of solicitations for financial support.

Financial support will be obtained from private individuals, foundations, PACs, exempt organizations and corporate donors.

2 Describe the organization's fund-raising program, both actual and planned, and explain to what extent it has been put into effect. (Include details of fund-raising activities such as selective mailings, formation of fund-raising committees, use of professional fund raisers, etc.)

Only minimal direct fund-raising solicitation have been undertaken to date. Plans for future fund-raising will be developed by the Board of Directors or a special committee of the Board of Directors. Whether the applicant plans to hire professional fund-raisers has not been determined at this time.

I declare under the penalties of perjury that I am authorized to sign this application on behalf of the above organization and I have examined this application, including the accompanying statements, and to the best of my knowledge it is true, correct, and complete.

*Ravi Kheran*  
(Signature)

*Director*  
(Title or authority of signer)

*3/5/87*  
(Date)

**Part III.—Activities and Operational Information (Continued)**

**3** Give a narrative description of the activities presently carried on by the organization, and those that will be carried on. If the organization is not fully operational, explain what stage of development its activities have reached, what further steps remain for the organization to become fully operational, and when such further steps will take place. The narrative should specifically identify the services performed or to be performed by the organization. (Do not state the purposes of the organization in general terms or repeat the language of the organizational documents.) If the organization is a school, hospital, or medical research organization, include enough information in your description to clearly show that the organization meets the definition of that particular activity that is contained in the instructions for Part VII-A.

**See Exhibit C attached.**

**4 The membership of the organization's governing body is:**

**(a) Names, addresses, and duties of officers, directors, trustees, etc.**

**(b) Specialized knowledge, training, expertise, or particular qualifications**

**See Exhibit D Attached.**

Part III.—Activities and Operational Information (Continued)

4 (c) Do any of the above persons serve as members of the governing body by reason of being public officials or being appointed by public officials? . . . . .  Yes  No  
If "Yes," name those persons and explain the basis of their selection or appointment.

(d) Are any members of the organization's governing body "disqualified persons" with respect to the organization (other than by reason of being a member of the governing body) or do any of the members have either a business or family relationship with "disqualified persons?" (See specific instruction 4(d).) . . . . .  Yes  No  
If "Yes," explain.

(e) Have any members of the organization's governing body assigned income or assets to the organization? . . . . .  Yes  No  
If "Yes," attach a copy of assignment(s) and a list of items assigned.

(f) Is it anticipated that any current or future member of the organization's governing body will assign income or assets to the organization? . . . . .  Yes  No  
If "Yes," explain fully on an attached sheet.

5 Does the organization control or is it controlled by any other organization? . . . . .  Yes  No  
Is the organization the outgrowth of another organization, or does it have a special relationship to another organization by reason of interlocking directorates or other factors? . . . . .  Yes  No  
If either of these questions is answered "Yes," explain.

6 Is the organization financially accountable to any other organization? . . . . .  Yes  No  
If "Yes," explain and identify the other organization. Include details concerning accountability or attach copies of reports if any have been submitted.

7 (a) What assets does the organization have that are used in the performance of its exempt function? (Do not include property producing investment income.) If any assets are not fully operational, explain their status, what additional steps remain to be completed, and when such final steps will be taken.

None at the present time. It is anticipated that office equipment will be leased initially.

(b) To what extent have you used, or do you plan to use contributions as an endowment fund, i.e., hold contributions to produce income for the support of your exempt activities?  
Such use is not planned at the present time.

8 (a) What benefits, services, or products will the organization provide that are related to its exempt function?  
The organization will provide no product.

UNIVERSITY MICROFILMS



Anticipated Statement of Support, Revenue, and Expenses for period ending December 31, 1987.

Support and Revenue			
1	Gross contributions, gifts, grants, and similar amounts received . . . . .	1	
2	Gross dues and assessments of members . . . . .	2	
3	(a) Gross amounts derived from activities related to organization's exempt purpose . . . . .	3	
	(b) Minus cost of sales . . . . .		
4	(a) Gross amounts from unrelated business activities . . . . .	4	
	(b) Minus cost of sales . . . . .		
5	(a) Gross amount received from sale of assets, excluding inventory items (attach schedule) . . . . .	5	
	(b) Minus cost or other basis and sales expenses of assets sold . . . . .		
6	Investment income (see instructions) . . . . .	6	
7	Total support and revenue . . . . .	7	
Expenses			
8	Fund raising expenses . . . . .	8	
9	Contributions, gifts, grants, and similar amounts paid (attach schedule) . . . . .	9	
10	Disbursements to or for benefit of members (attach schedule) . . . . .	10	
11	Compensation of officers, directors, and trustees (attach schedule) . . . . .	11	
12	Other salaries and wages . . . . .	12	
13	Interest . . . . .	13	
14	Rent . . . . .	14	
15	Depreciation and depletion . . . . .	15	
16	Other (attach schedule) . . . . . See Schedule E attached.	16	214,500
17	Total expenses . . . . .	17	
18	Excess of support and revenue over expenses (line 7 minus line 17) . . . . .	18	

Balance Sheets		Enter dates	Beginning date	Ending date
<b>NO Assets or Liabilities as Yet</b>				
19	Cash (a) Interest bearing accounts . . . . .	19		
	(b) Other . . . . .			
20	Accounts receivable, net . . . . .	20		
21	Inventories . . . . .	21		
22	Bonds and notes (attach schedule) . . . . .	22		
23	Corporate stocks (attach schedule) . . . . .	23		
24	Mortgage loans (attach schedule) . . . . .	24		
25	Other investments (attach schedule) . . . . .	25		
26	Depreciable and depletable assets (attach schedule) . . . . .	26		
27	Land . . . . .	27		
28	Other assets (attach schedule) . . . . .	28		
29	Total assets . . . . .	29		
<b>Liabilities</b>				
30	Accounts payable . . . . .	30		
31	Contributions, gifts, grants, etc., payable . . . . .	31		
32	Mortgages and notes payable (attach schedule) . . . . .	32		
33	Other liabilities (attach schedules) . . . . .	33		
34	Total liabilities . . . . .	34		
<b>Fund Balances or Net Worth</b>				
35	Total fund balances or net worth . . . . .	35		
36	Total liabilities and fund balances or net worth (line 34 plus line 35) . . . . .	36		

Has there been any substantial change in any aspect of your financial activities since the period ending date shown above?  Yes  No  
 If "Yes," attach a detailed explanation.

Part VI.—Required Schedules for Special Activities	If "Yes," check here:	And, complete schedule—
1 Is the organization, or any part of it, a school? . . . . .	.NO	A
2 Does the organization provide or administer any scholarship benefits, student aid, etc.? . . . .	.NO	B
3 Has the organization taken over, or will it take over, the facilities of a "for profit" institution? . . . . .	.NO	C
4 Is the organization, or any part of it, a hospital or a medical research organization? . . . . .	.NO	D
5 Is the organization, or any part of it, a home for the aged? . . . . .	.NO	E
6 Is the organization, or any part of it, a litigating organization (public interest law firm or similar organization)? . . . . .	.NO	F
7 Is the organization, or any part of it, formed to promote amateur sports competition? . . . . .	.NO	G

**Part VII.—Non-Private Foundation Status (Definitive ruling only)**

**A.—Basis for Non-Private Foundation Status**

The organization is not a private foundation because it qualifies as:

	✓	Kind of organization	Within the meaning of	Complete
1		a church	Sections 509(a)(1) and 170(b)(1)(A)(i)	
2		a school	Sections 509(a)(1) and 170(b)(1)(A)(ii)	
3		a hospital	Sections 509(a)(1) and 170(b)(1)(A)(iii)	
4		a medical research organization operated in conjunction with a hospital	Sections 509(a)(1) and 170(b)(1)(A)(iii)	
5		being organized and operated exclusively for testing for public safety	Section 509(a)(4)	
6		being operated for the benefit of a college or university which is owned or operated by a governmental unit	Sections 509(a)(1) and 170(b)(1)(A)(iv)	Part VII.-B
7	x	normally receiving a substantial part of its support from a governmental unit or from the general public	Sections 509(a)(1) and 170(b)(1)(A)(v)	Part VII.-B
8		normally receiving not more than one-third of its support from gross investment income and more than one-third of its support from contributions, membership fees, and gross receipts from activities related to its exempt functions (subject to certain exceptions)	Section 509(a)(2)	Part VII.-B
9		being operated solely for the benefit of or in connection with one or more of the organizations described in 1 through 4, or 6, 7, and 8 above	Section 509(a)(3)	Part VII.-C

**B.—Analysis of Financial Support**

	(a) Most recent tax year 19.....	(Years next preceding most recent tax year)			(e) Total
		(b) 19.....	(c) 19.....	(d) 19.....	
1 Gifts, grants, and contributions received . . . . .	<del>NO FUNDS RECEIVED AS OF THE DATE OF APPLICATION.</del>				
2 Membership fees received . . . . .					
3 Gross receipts from admissions, sales of merchandise or services, or furnishing of facilities in any activity which is not an unrelated business within the meaning of section 513 . . . . .					
4 Gross investment income (see instructions for definition) . . . . .					
5 Net income from organization's unrelated business activities not included on line 4 . . . . .					
6 Tax revenues levied for and either paid to or spent on behalf of the organization . . . . .					
7 Value of services or facilities furnished by a governmental unit to the organization without charge (not including the value of services or facilities generally furnished the public without charge) . . . . .					
8 Other income (not including gain or loss from sale of capital assets)—attach schedule . . . . .					
9 Total of lines 1 through 8 . . . . .					
10 Line 9 minus line 3 . . . . .					
11 Enter 2% of line 10, column (e) only . . . . .					

12 If the organization has received any unusual grants during any of the above tax years, attach a list for each year showing the name of the contributor, the date and amount of grant, and a brief description of the nature of such grant. Do not include such grants on line 1 above—(See instructions).

1482841-101

GOVERNMENT OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA  
DEPARTMENT OF CONSUMER AND REGULATORY AFFAIRS

EXHIBIT A



C E R T I F I C A T E

THIS IS TO CERTIFY that all provisions of the DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA  
NON-PROFIT CORPORATION ACT have been complied with and accordingly  
this CERTIFICATE of INCORPORATION

is hereby issued to THE COMMISSION ON PRESIDENTIAL DEBATES

as of FEBRUARY 19, 19 87.

Donald G. Murray  
Acting Director

R. Benjamin Johnson  
Administrator  
Business Regulation Administration

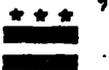
A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Vandy L. Jamison Jr.", written over a horizontal line.

VANDY L. JAMISON JR.

ASSISTANT

Superintendent of Corporations  
Corporations Division

Marion Barry, Jr.  
Mayor



ARTICLES OF INCORPORATION  
OF THE  
COMMISSION ON PRESIDENTIAL DEBATES

\* \* \* \*

TO: Department of Commerce and Regulatory Affairs  
Corporations Division  
614 H Street, N. W.  
Washington, D. C. - 20001

We, the undersigned natural persons of the age of twenty-one years or more acting as incorporators of a corporation, adopt the following Articles of Incorporation for such corporation pursuant to the District of Columbia Non-Profit Corporation Act (D. C. Code, 1981 edition, Title 29, Chapter 5):

FIRST: The name of the corporation is The Commission on Presidential Debates.

SECOND: The period of duration is perpetual.

THIRD: The purposes for which the corporation is organized are as follows:

To organize, manage, produce, publicize and support debates for the candidates for President of the United States; to foster communication and cooperation among the candidates to facilitate debates; to encourage exchanges between representatives of the candidates; to finance debates; to provide management for the debates and fund-raising process; to develop materials necessary for debates; to conduct research; to serve as program and production vehicle for the debates; and to take all other actions consistent with producing presidential debates. In addition, the corporation shall have all other powers now or hereafter granted to non-profit corporations pursuant to the District of Columbia Non-Profit Corporation Act to be used in furtherance of the above purposes. Notwithstanding the

**FILED**  
FEB 19 1987

BY: \_\_\_\_\_  
(12)

foregoing, however, the corporation is organized to operate exclusively for charitable, educational, and literary purposes, within the meaning of Section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 ("Code") (or corresponding provisions of any subsequent federal tax laws); and shall neither have nor exercise any power or authority, either expressly by interpretation, or by operation of law, nor directly nor indirectly, engage in any activity that would prevent it from qualifying and continuing to qualify as an organization described in Section 501(c)(3).

FOURTH: The corporation shall have no members.

FIFTH: The manner in which directors shall be elected or appointed shall be provided in the Bylaws of the corporation.

SIXTH: In all events and under all circumstances, and notwithstanding merger, consolidation, reorganization, termination, dissolution, or winding up of this corporation, voluntarily or involuntarily, or by the operation of law or upon amendment of the Articles of Incorporation of the corporation:

(a) The corporation shall not have or exercise any power or authority either expressly by interpretation, or by operation of law, nor shall it directly or indirectly, engage in any activity, that would prevent it from qualifying (and continuing to qualify) as a corporation described in Section 501(c)(3) of the Code (or corresponding provisions on any subsequent federal tax laws.

(b) No part of the assets or net earnings of the corporation shall inure to the benefit of or be distributable to its incorporators, Directors, officers, or other private persons having a personal or private interest in the corporation, except that the corporation shall be authorized and empowered to pay reasonable

compensation for services actually rendered and to make reimbursement in reasonable amounts for expenses actually incurred to carry out the purposes set forth in ARTICLE THIRD hereof.

(c) No substantial part of the activities of the corporation shall consist of the carrying on of propaganda, or of otherwise attempting to influence legislation unless Section 501(h) of the Code as amended (or corresponding provisions of any subsequent federal tax laws), shall apply to the corporation, in which case the corporation shall not normally make lobbying or grass roots expenditures in excess of the amounts therein specified. The corporation shall not in any manner or to any extent participate in or intervene in (including the publishing or distribution of statements), any political campaign on behalf of any candidate for public office; nor shall it engage in any "prohibited transaction" as defined in Section 503(b) of the Code (or corresponding provisions of any subsequent federal tax laws).

(d) Neither the whole, nor any part or portion of the assets or net earnings of the corporation shall be used, nor shall the corporation ever be operated, for objects or purposes other than those set forth in ARTICLE THIRD hereof.

(e) (1) The corporation shall distribute its income for each taxable year at such time and in such manner as not to subject it to the tax on undistributed income imposed by Section 4942 of the Code (or corresponding provisions of any subsequent federal tax laws).

(2) The corporation shall not engage in any act of self-dealing as defined in Section 4941(d) of the Code (or corresponding provisions of any subsequent federal tax laws).

(3) The corporation shall not retain any excess business holdings as defined in Section 4943(c) of the Code (or corresponding provisions of any subsequent federal tax laws).

(4) The corporation shall not make any investments in such manner as to subject it to tax under Section 4944 of the Code (or corresponding provisions of any subsequent federal tax laws).

(5) The corporation shall not make any taxable expenditures that would subject it to tax under Section 4945(d) of the Code (or corresponding provisions of any subsequent federal tax laws).

(f) Upon dissolution of the corporation, all of its assets and property of every nature and description remaining after the payment of all liabilities and obligations of the corporation (but not including assets held by the corporation upon condition requiring return, transfer, or conveyance, which condition occurs by reason of the dissolution) shall be paid over and transferred to the federal government or to one or more organizations which engage in activities substantially similar to those of the corporation and which are then qualified for exemption from federal income taxes as organizations described in Section 501(c)(3) of the Code (or corresponding provisions of any subsequent federal tax laws), or which constitutes a state or local government, or a subdivision or agency thereof.

SEVENTH:

The address, including street and number, of the corporation's initial registered office is:

1825 K Street, N. W., Suite 711, Washington, D.C. - 20006, and the name of its initial registered agent at such address is Louis Rabil.

EIGHTH:

The number of Directors constituting the Board of Directors is eight (8) and the names and addresses, including street and number, of the persons who are to serve as the initial Directors until their successors are elected and qualified are as follows:

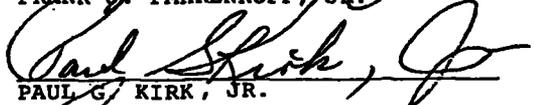
<u>NAME:</u>	<u>ADDRESS:</u>
Frank J. Fahrenkopf, Jr.	310 First Street, S.E. Washington, D.C. - 20003
Paul G. Kirk, Jr.	20 Ivy Street, S.E. Washington, D.C. - 20003
Richard Moe	1575 I Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. - 20006
David F. Norcross	905-16th Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. - 20006

NINTH: The name and address, including street and number, of each incorporator is:

<u>NAME:</u>	<u>ADDRESS:</u>
Frank J. Fahrenkopf, Jr.	310 First Street, S.E. Washington, D.C. - 20003
Paul G. Kirk, Jr.	20 Ivy Street, S.E. Washington, D.C. - 20003
Richard Moe	1575 I Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. - 20006
David F. Norcross	905-16th Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. - 20006

DATED:

  
FRANK J. FAHRENKOPF, JR.

  
PAUL G. KIRK, JR.

  
RICHARD MOE

  
DAVID F. NORCROSS

B Y L A W S

EXHIBIT B

OF

THE COMMISSION ON PRESIDENTIAL DEBATES

SECTION 1: Board of Directors. The activities of the corporation shall be managed by the Board which shall consist of ten (10) Directors.

SECTION 2: Nominating Committee. The two (2) Chairmen shall each appoint two (2) members of the nominating committee of four (4) individuals which shall recommend to the Board the names of the persons to be submitted for election as Directors. The Directors shall thereafter be elected by the Board. Term of Office and Election: Except as herein otherwise provided with respect to the original Directors, the term of office of each Director shall be four (4) years and until the successor of such Director is elected and qualifies or until the earlier resignation or removal of such Director. The ten (10) original Directors shall have terms of office expiring at the annual meeting of the members of the corporation in the year 1990; or thereafter when their respective successors in each case are elected and qualified. Successor Directors shall be elected and qualified. Successor Directors shall be elected at the annual meeting at which time their terms of office shall expire, and such successors shall be elected for a term of four

(4) years and until their successors are are elected and qualified. Directors may be elected to be their own successors.

SECTION 3:

Vacancies. Vacancies among the Directors may be filled by appointment by the two Chairmen and each Director so chosen shall hold office until the end of the term of the Director replaced and shall hold office until the next successor is elected and qualifies, or until the Director's earlier resignation or removal. When one or more Directors shall resign from the Board, effective at a future date, the Chairmen shall have power to fill such vacancy or vacancies, to take effect when such resignation or resignations shall become effective, and each Director so chosen shall hold office as provided in this section in the filling of other vacancies.

SECTION 4:

Regular Meetings. A regular annual meeting of the Board for the election of Directors and Officers and such other business as may come before the meeting shall be held in February of each year upon not less than ten (10) nor more than sixty (60) days' written notice of the time, place and purposes of the meeting. The Board may meet from time to time at the call of the Chairmen.

SECTION 5: Special Meetings of the Board. Special meetings of the Board for any purpose or purposes may be called at any time by the Chairmen or any four of the Directors. Such meetings shall be held upon not less than two (2) days' notice given personally by telephone or telegraph, or upon not less than four (4) days' notice given by depositing notice in the United States mails, postage paid. Such notice shall specify the time and place of the meeting.

SECTION 6: Waivers of Notice of the Board Meetings:  
Adjournments. Notice of a meeting need not be given to any Director who signs a waiver of notice whether before or after the meeting, or who attends the meeting without protesting, prior to the conclusion of the meeting, the lack of notice to such Director of such meeting. Neither the business to be transacted at, nor the purpose of, any meeting of the Board need be specified in the notice or waiver of notice of such meeting. Notice of an adjourned meeting need not be given if the time and place are fixed at the meeting adjourning and if the period of adjournment does not exceed twenty (20) days in any one adjournment.

SECTION 7: Action Without Meeting. The Board or any committee of the Board may act without a meeting if, prior or subsequent to such action, each Director or committee member shall consent in

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has members which are not Directors shall be advisory, shall not bind the Board or the corporation and shall be subject to Board approval) each of which, to the extent provided in the resolution, shall have and may exercise the authority of the Board, except that no such committee shall:

- (a) Make, alter or repeal any bylaw of the corporation;
- (b) Elect or appoint any Officer or Director, or remove any Officer or Director;
- (c) Make any grants or distribution of funds; or
- (d) Amend or repeal any resolution previously adopted by the Board.

The Board, by resolution adopted by a majority of the entire Board, may:

- (a) Fill any vacancy in such committee;
- (b) Appoint one or more persons to serve as alternate members of any such committee to act in the absence or disability of members of any such committee with all the powers of such absent or disabled members of a committee;
- (c) Abolish any committee at its pleasure; or
- (d) Remove any members of such committee at any time, with or without cause.

A majority of each committee shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business and the act of the majority of the committee members

present at a meeting at which a quorum is present shall be the act of such committee. Each committee shall appoint from among its members a Chairman unless the resolution of the Board establishing such committee designates the Chairman, in which case, in the event of a vacancy in the Chairmanship, the Board shall fill the vacancy.

Actions taken at a meeting of any such committee shall be kept in a record of its proceedings which shall be reported to the Board at its next meeting following such committee meeting, except that, when the meeting of the Board is held within two (2) days after the committee meeting, such report shall, if not made at the first meeting, be made to the Board at its second meeting following such committee meeting.

SECTION 11: Compensation. Neither Directors nor officers of the Board shall receive any fee, salary or remuneration of any kind for their services as Directors or Officers; provided, however, that Directors and Officers may be reimbursed for reasonable expenses incurred with approval of the Board upon presentation of Vouchers.

SECTION 12: Officers. At its annual meeting, the Board shall elect from its members two (2) Chairmen, two (2) Vice-Chairmen, a Secretary and a

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Treasurer, and such other Officers as it shall deem necessary, each of whom shall serve for a term of four (4) years and may succeed themselves. The Officers elected at the initial meeting of the corporation shall serve until the annual meeting in February, 1989. The Board shall select an Executive Director, who need not be a Director, and who shall serve at the pleasure of the Board. The Board, by resolution adopted by a 2/3 vote of the entire Board, may remove any Officer, with or without cause. The duties and authority of the Officers shall be determined from time to time by the Board. Subject to any such determination, the Officers shall have the following duties and authority:

- (a) The Chairmen of the Board shall be the Chief Executive Officers of the corporation, and, when present, shall preside at all meetings of the Board of Directors, and shall have such other duties and such other powers as may be vested in that office by the Board of Directors.
- (b) The Vice-Chairmen (if elected) shall have such duties and possess such authority as may be delegated to the Vice-Chairmen by the Chairmen.
- (c) The Treasurer shall have custody of the funds and securities of the corporation and shall keep or cause to be kept regular books of account for the corporation.
- (d) The Secretary shall cause notices of all meetings to be served as prescribed and shall cause minutes of all meetings to be kept and shall have charge of the seal of the corporation

and shall perform such other duties and possess such powers as are incident to the office or shall be assigned from time to time by the Chairmen or the Board.

(e) Assistant Treasurers (if elected) shall have such duties and possess such authority as may be delegated to them by the Treasurer.

(f) Assistant Secretaries (if elected) shall have such duties and possess such authority as may be delegated to them by the Secretary.

SECTION 13:     Executive Director. The Executive Director shall have the duties and responsibilities of conducting the affairs of the corporation and shall serve as the Chief Operating Officer of the corporation and shall carry out the duties of the office in accordance with the directions and policies of the Chairmen and the Board.

SECTION 14:     Force and Effect of Bylaws. These Bylaws are subject to the provisions of the District of Columbia Non-Profit Corporation Act (the "Act") and the Certificate of Incorporation as they may be amended from time to time. If any provision in these Bylaws is inconsistent with a provision in the Act or the Certificate of Incorporation, the provision of the Act or the Certificate of Incorporation shall govern to the extent of such inconsistency.

SECTION 15:     Amendment to Bylaws. These Bylaws may be altered, amended or repealed by a vote of 2/3 of the Board. Written notice of any such Bylaw

change to be voted upon by the Board shall be given not less than ten (10) days prior to the meeting at which such change shall be proposed.

SECTION 16: Powers. The Commission on Presidential Debates may, to the extent authorized by its Board and consistent with applicable laws, collect and utilize private funds in furtherance of its objective.

SECTION 17: Indemnification. The corporation shall indemnify to the full extent permitted by law any person made, or threatened to be made, a party to an action, suit or proceeding (whether civil, criminal, administrative or investigative) by reason of the fact that the person, or the person's testator or intestate, is or was a Director or Officer of the corporation.

Attachment to Form 1023,  
Part III, Question 3

The Commission on Presidential Debates  
E. I. D. #

EXHIBIT C

The Commission on Presidential Debates was established to organize, manage, produce publicize and support debates for the candidates for President of the United States; to foster communication among the candidates to facilitate debates; to encourage exchanges between representatives of the candidates; to finance debates; to provide management for the debates and fund-raising process; to develop materials necessary for debates; to conduct research; to serve as program and production vehicle for the debates; and to take all other actions consistent with producing presidential debates. In addition, the corporation shall have all other powers now or hereafter granted to non-profit corporations pursuant to the District of Columbia Non-Profit Corporation Act to be used in furtherance of the above purposes.

EXHIBIT D

<u>NAME:</u>	<u>ADDRESS:</u>
Frank J. Fahrenkopf, Jr.	310 First Street, S. E. Washington, D. C. - 20003
Paul Kirk	20 Ivy Street, S. E. Washington, D. C. - 20003
Richard Moe	1575 I Street, N. W. Washington, D. C. - 20006
David F. Norcross	905 Sixteenth Street, N. W. Washington, D. C. - 20006
Governor Kay Orr	Statehouse Lincoln, Nebraska

The Commission on Presidential Debates  
 Exhibit \_\_\_\_\_

Financial Data

Projected Support and Revenue

<u>Support and Revenue</u>	2-19-87 to <u>12-31-87</u>	<u>Year ending 12-31-88</u>	<u>Year ending 12-31-89</u>
1. Gross contributions, gifts, grants and similar amounts received	\$ 515,000	1,065,000	210,000
2. Gross dues and assessments to members	0	0	0
3. (a) Gross amounts derived from activities related to organization's exempt purpose	0	0	0
(b) Minus cost of sales	0	0	0
4. (a) Gross amounts from unrelated business activities	0	0	0
(b) Minus cost of sales	0	0	0
5. (a) Gross amount received from sales of assets, excluding inventory items	0	0	0
(b) Minus cost or other basis and sales expenses of assets sold	0	0	0
6. Investment income	0	0	0
7. Total support and revenue	515,000	1,065,000	210,000
<u>Expenses</u>			
8. Fund raising expenses	44,000	40,000	15,000
9. Contributions, gifts, grants, and similar amounts paid	0	0	0
10. Disbursements to or for benefit of members	0	0	0

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Schedule 2

Projected Administration Expenses

<u>Letter Contract Line Items</u>	<u>2-19-87 to 12-31-87</u>	<u>Year ending 12-31-88</u>	<u>Year ending 12-31-89</u>
1. Furniture Rental	6,000	7,000	3,000
2. Supplies & Equipment	10,000	12,000	3,000
3. Telephones	15,000	25,000	5,000
4. Telex	2,500	2,500	1,000
5. Postage & Communications	25,000	225,000	15,000
6. Printing	20,000	50,000	10,000
7. Contractual Services	15,000	45,000	10,000
8. Local Transportation	5,000	5,000	2,000
9. Insurance/Bonding	10,000	10,000	2,000
10. Purchased Services	15,000	15,000	5,000
11. Subscriptions	1,000	1,000	1,000
12. Travel & Per Diem	50,000	150,000	25,000
13. Conferences & Meetings	30,000	70,000	10,000
14. Consulting Fees	30,000	70,000	10,000
15. Deposits & Installations	6,000	3,000	1,000

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# Exhibit 101

## **Commission on Presidential Debates: Conflict of Interest Policy**

### **Article I**

#### **Purpose**

The purpose of the conflict of interest policy is to protect the interests of the Commission on Presidential Debates ("CPD") when it is contemplating entering into a transaction or arrangement that might benefit the private interests of an officer, director or senior manager of the Organization or might result in a possible excess benefit transaction. This policy is intended to supplement but not replace any applicable state and federal laws governing conflict of interest applicable to nonprofit and charitable organizations.

### **Article II**

#### **Definitions**

##### **1. Interested Person**

Any director, officer, member of a committee with governing board delegated powers, or senior manager, who has a direct or indirect financial interest, as defined below, is an interested person.

##### **2. Financial Interest**

A person has a financial interest if the person has, directly or indirectly, through business, investment, or family:

- a. An ownership or investment interest in any entity with which the CPD has a transaction or arrangement,
- b. A compensation arrangement with the CPD or with any entity or individual with which the CPD has a transaction or arrangement, or
- c. A potential ownership or investment interest in, or compensation arrangement with, any entity or individual with which the CPD is negotiating a transaction or arrangement.

A financial interest is not necessarily a conflict of interest. Under Article III, Section 2, a person who has a financial interest may have a conflict of interest only if (1) the financial interest is material, (2) is known to the person, and (3) if the appropriate governing board or committee decides that a conflict of interest exists.



**4. Violations of the Conflicts of Interest Policy**

- a. If the governing board or committee has reasonable cause to believe an interested person has failed to disclose actual or potential conflicts of interest, it shall inform the interested person of the basis for such belief and afford the interested person an opportunity to explain the alleged failure to disclose.
- b. If, after hearing the interested person's response and after making further investigation as warranted by the circumstances, the governing board or committee determines the interested person has failed to disclose an actual or potential conflict of interest, it shall take appropriate disciplinary and corrective action.

**Article IV**

**Record of Proceedings**

In connection with the procedures described herein, the minutes of the governing board and all committees with board delegated powers shall contain:

- a. The names of the persons who disclosed or otherwise were found to have a financial interest in connection with an actual or potential conflict of interest, the nature of the financial interest, any action taken to determine whether a conflict of interest was present, and the governing board's or committee's decision as to whether a conflict of interest in fact existed.
- b. The names of the person who were present for discussions and votes relating to the transaction or arrangement, the content of the discussion, including any alternatives to the proposed transaction or arrangement, and a record of any votes taken in connection with the proceedings.

**Article V**

**Compensation**

- a. A voting member of the governing board or senior manager who receives compensation, directly or indirectly, from the CPD for services is precluded from voting on matters pertaining to his/her compensation.
- b. A voting member of any committee whose jurisdiction includes compensation matters and who receives compensation, directly or indirectly, from the Organization for services, including any senior manager, is precluded from voting on matters pertaining to his/her compensation.
- c. No voting member of the governing board or any committee whose jurisdiction includes compensation matters and who receives compensation, directly or

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indirectly, from the CPD, either individually or collectively, is prohibited from providing information to any committee regarding compensation.

## **Article VI**

### **Periodic Statements**

Each director, officer, member of a committee with governing board delegated powers, and senior manager shall periodically sign a statement that affirms such person:

- a. Has received a copy of the conflicts of interest policy,
- b. Has read and understands the policy,
- c. Has agreed to comply with the policy, and
- d. Understands the CPD is a 501(c)(3) organization and in order to maintain its federal tax exemption it must engage primarily in activities which accomplish one or more of its tax-exempt purposes.

## **Article VII**

### **Periodic Reviews**

To ensure the CPD operates in a manner consistent with charitable purposes and does not engage in activities that could jeopardize its tax-exempt status, periodic reviews shall be conducted. The periodic reviews shall, at a minimum, include the following subjects:

- a. Whether compensation arrangements and benefits are reasonable, based on competent survey information, and the result of arm's length bargaining.
- b. Whether partnerships, joint ventures, and arrangements with management organizations conform to the CPD's written policies, are properly recorded, reflect reasonable investment or payments for goods and services, further charitable purposes and do not result in inurement, impermissible private benefit or in an excess benefit transaction.

## **Article VIII**

### **Use of Outside Experts**

When conducting the periodic reviews as provided for in Article VII, the Organization may, but need not, use outside advisors. If outside experts are used, their use shall not relieve the governing board of its responsibility for ensuring periodic reviews are conducted.

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